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THE LATER NON-JURORS

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THE LATER NON-JURORS

BY
HENRY BROXAP, M.A.



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THE GREAT OCEAN
YEARLY
BOOK

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

To the Reverend

SIDNEY LESLIE OLLARD, M.A.

*Rector of Bainton, and
Honorary Canon of Worcester*

THIS BOOK IS
GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED
BY THE
AUTHOR

THE story of the Non-Jurors has always excited interest on account of the great contribution made by the leaders of the movement to the religious thought of the eighteenth century, and also of a certain atmosphere of romance which attaches itself to those who made a great adventure which ended, so far as outward appearances go, in complete disaster. It may be held that the story has been told already with great completeness, and, so far as the earlier period is concerned, this is undoubtedly true. It is, however, impossible for one to read the various accounts previously given of the Non-Juring movement during its later stages without perceiving that the writers have been compelled to undertake their task without complete and reliable information, and have of necessity substituted more or less probable conjectures for certainly-established historical facts. This book is concerned only with the later period, which may be dated from the closing years of the reign of Queen Anne, and the justification for an attempt to tell the story of this comparatively unknown period is to be found in the wealth of new information which is now available for those who desire to study the final stages in the history of the Society which maintained an outward and visible form until the opening years of the nineteenth century. The discovery of the papers and correspondence of Dr Thomas Brett, now known as the Brett MSS., is told in the following pages by another hand. The collection became available for general use in 1916 and it is largely on the information derived from Dr Brett's papers that the present book is based.

The various MSS. in the possession of the Scottish Bishops which are preserved in Edinburgh have not been used to any considerable extent by previous authors, and their importance to the full understanding of the story of the Later Non-Jurors is, from some points of view, equal to that of the Brett MSS. The completion of the edition of the papers of Thomas Hearne under the title of *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* (Oxford Historical Society; 11 volumes) is also a most valuable contribution to the material which now lies ready to the hand of a historian of this period. It may be said in a word that it is now possible to write a scientific history of that stage of the movement which has previously been told in part only and by means of conjecture.

This is the task which is now attempted. It is necessary to say that repetition has been, so far as possible, avoided, and that this book is not to be regarded as complete in itself and without reference to the works of the eminent authors whose names will always be associated with the story of the Non-Jurors. The scope of the book and the position assumed by the writer will receive illustration in the following chapters. There is, however, laid upon me a clear duty which must be performed in this place. I am under obligation to many friends without whose assistance my task could not have been begun or completed. My thanks are due to Dr A. E. Cowley, Bodley's Librarian, and to the Curators of the Bodleian Library for their ready response to a request that a Decree of Convocation should be applied for in order to authorize the forwarding of the various volumes of the Brett Collection to the John Rylands Library in Manchester for my use. The decree was duly granted and the volumes were sent two at a time to Manchester. A preliminary study in Oxford of the MSS. had made clear to me that the task of examination was no light matter. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this permission in the case of a man whose leisure is not large.

I have to acknowledge a similar kindness received from the hands of the Primus and Bishops of the Scottish Church who consented to the sending to Manchester of the various documents in their possession and have also given the necessary permission for the publication of valuable information extracted from the MSS. My thanks are also due to the Rev. Canon Perry, Principal of the Theological College at Rosebery Crescent, Edinburgh, who has the immediate care of that portion of the documents known as the "College Papers." I tender in this connection my most sincere thanks to friends in Scotland, whom I am forbidden to mention by name, for the help which could only be rendered by those who had a peculiar and intimate knowledge of the various MSS. which are now gathered together in two main collections in Edinburgh.

There are no words which can express the kindness which I have received from Canon Ollard, whose complete and accurate knowledge of the period under review is known to all students of the religious history of the eighteenth century and has been at all times freely placed at my disposal.

My thanks are due to Mr H. P. K. Skipton, who was the first to attempt the task of examining the Brett MSS. in detail, and who has most kindly allowed me to compare many of his notes with those which I have myself extracted. I am also indebted to Mr Skipton for many valuable notes on various phases of the movement which could only be collected by one who takes a deep and sympathetic interest in everything which concerns the falling fortunes of the "faithful remnant."

Finally, I desire to thank the Rev. Walter Cresson Pugh, of Kennett Square, Pa, who wrote in 1919, "a Thesis for a Master's Degree, the Philadelphia Divinity School, entitled *The Usages Controversy of the Non-Jurors, 1716-1734*." Mr Pugh kindly sent me a copy of this Thesis, the receipt of which was the immediate cause of the preparation of this book.

HENRY BROXAP

PENDLE HOUSE, THE CLIFF,
HIGHER BROUGHTON, MANCHESTER.

1 May 1924

C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xiii
AN ACCOUNT OF THE BRETT MSS. AND THE SCOTTISH PAPERS . <i>by</i> CANON OLLARD	xvii
<i>Chapter</i> I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS BRETT	18
III. THE USAGES CONTROVERSY	35
IV. THE NEW SEPARATIONS	66
V. PROPOSALS FOR RE-UNION	107
VI. THE RE-UNION SETTLEMENT	145
VII. THE RESULTS OF THE UNION	190
VIII. LAST STAGES OF THE MOVEMENT	237
IX. CONCLUSION	291
<i>Appendix</i> I. BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX	309
II. NON-JURORS' DOCTRINE AND CEREMONIES	318
III. ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS	336
IV. A COMPLETE REGISTER OF NON-JUROR CONSECRATIONS	349
INDEX	352

FACSIMILES

THE CONSECRATION OF JEREMY COLLIER	TO FACE	14
THE CONSECRATION OF ROBERT GORDON	,,	224

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) ORIGINAL SOURCES IN MS.

THE BRETT MSS. (Bodleian Library, English Theol. C. 12-31). 20 folio volumes.

Three papers in the possession of St John's College, Oxford, and two among the Copeland MSS. in the possession of Canon Ollard, complete this collection.

A COLLECTION OF DEVOTIONS in the handwriting of Bishop Archibald Campbell, now in the possession of Mr F. R. D. Needham, of Christ Church, Oxford. The volume formerly belonged to the Rev. Dr W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, and bears on the title page the following account of its history:

"This Collection I got from Mr Neill Menzies, Surgeon at Perth, Nephew and Joint Executor to Bishop Campbell, 28th October 1758. WIL. ERSKYNE."

"This book I got from Wil. Erskyne, Advocate, Son of the above Rev. Wil. Erskyne, late Episcopal Clergyman at Muthill, on the 31st July 1790.

ALEXANDER CRUICKSHANK."

The book was bought by Dr Macray on the 29th March 1905, from a private dealer.

AN INJUNCTION BY BISHOP DEACON (8th May 1748), authorizing the use of his *Compleat Devotions* as the book of Common Prayer, etc., for all clergy and laity of Deacon's communion. This document is now in the possession of the Corporation of Manchester.

PAPERS given or lent by Miss Mary Deacon, great-great-granddaughter of Humphrey Hierophilus Deacon, son of Bishop Deacon of Manchester. These papers were kindly forwarded to the writer through the good agency of Mr H. P. K. Skipton.

PAPERS OF DR BRETT in the possession of Major R. J. K. Mott, J.P., of Wall House, Crowcombe, Taunton, who was formerly the owner of Spring Grove, the home of the Brett family. These papers contain a most valuable account of the Non-Jurors' Controversies written by Dr Brett, about the year 1728, with short notes by various leading members of the Movement at that date.

RAWLINSON'S MS. RECORD OF NON-JUROR CONSECRATIONS AND ORDINATIONS (Bodleian Library).

This volume is carefully to be distinguished from the printed record of Consecrations which Rawlinson compiled, copies of which are in the Bodleian Library and elsewhere. Some occasional notes which Rawlinson appended at the end of this small MS. are of very great value and interest.

RAWLINSON MSS. (Bodleian Library). D. 845-847, 1254, 1373. J. 4^a11 and 12.

THREE VOLUMES OF NON-JURING TRACTS with MS. notes by Thomas Wagstaffe, now in the library of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield. There were originally four volumes of which one was lost; the others were presented to the Community by the late Rev. W. F. Wilberforce. They had been the property of his father, the Ven. R. I. Wilberforce, some time Archdeacon of the East Riding, who died in 1857. This collection is chiefly important from the fact that there is contained in one

of the volumes a list of the Tracts published in the Controversies among the Non-Jurors in the handwriting of Thomas Wagstaffe.

ADDITIONAL MSS. (D. 30) (Bodleian Library). These are the papers collected by the Rev. H. H. Norris, and are of importance as containing information on the very latest phases of the Movement.

LETTERS OF THE REV. W. J. COPELAND in the possession of Miss Inge of Oxford and of Canon Ollard.

A MEMORANDUM OF MISS THORNTON in the handwriting of the Rt Hon. G. W. E. Russell, in the possession of Canon Ollard.

DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:

Register of the Bishops of Scotland.

Papers in the Episcopal Chest, Nos. 1-2097; catalogued by the Ven. J. B. Craven.

The "Jolly Kist" Chest and the other MSS. which either belonged to the Scottish Episcopal Church Library or have been presented to the College; commonly known as the COLLEGE PAPERS; partially catalogued only. These papers include Bishop Dowden's "Pocket Book," written partly in Bishop Jolly's hand, bought on 11th April 1908 from Richard Cameron, bookseller, Edinburgh. Also a Pamphlet or Copy-book sent back from America by Dr Gammock—the copies were made about 1828 by the Rev. — Murdoch of Leith, also a copy of Nicholas Brett's CONSIDERATIONS (1773) and other interesting matter to which references are made in the text.

References to English Non-Jurors from Principal Leslie's MSS. (1783-1787) kindly extracted by the Very Rev. G. T. S. Farquhar, Dean of St Andrew's. Mr Leslie lived in his youth near Folla Rule (the home of Bishop Arthur Petrie), and probably made the notes when there. Nothing is now known of the originals. Mr Leslie was principal of the Episcopal Training College for Teachers in Edinburgh. He died in the year 1910.

(B) PRINTED BOOKS.

A DISSERTATION ON ANCIENT LITURGIES. Dr Thomas Brett (London, 1720).

THE INDISPENSABLE OBLIGATION OF MINISTERING EXPRESSLY AND MANIFESTLY, ETC. Roger Laurence (London, 1732).

TWO DISCOURSES. Bishop George Smith (London, 1732). A Supplement was published in the following year.

HISTORY OF THE NON-JURORS. Thomas Lathbury (London, 1843).

THE NON-JURORS. Rev. J. H. Overton (London, 1902).

THE USAGES CONTROVERSY OF THE NON-JURORS (1716-1734). The Rev. Walter C. Pugh, of Kennetts Sq., Pa. (Issued privately 1919.)

REMARKS AND COLLECTIONS OF THOMAS HEARNE. Oxford Historical Society. Edited by various authors (1885-1921). 11 volumes.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF DURHAM. Robert Surtees (London, 1816-1840). 4 volumes fol.

THE LYON IN MOURNING. Edited by H. Paton and W. B. Blaikie. Scottish History Society. Nos. 20 to 23.

JOURNALS AND EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS OF BISHOP ROBERT FORBES. Edited and compiled by the Rev. J. B. Craven (London, 1886).

SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL (1851-1853). Nos. 1 to XXXVI (Edinburgh, 1851-1853).

SCOTICHRONICON. J. F. S. Gordon, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1867). 6 volumes.

SCOTTISH CHURCH REVIEW, vol. 1. (Aberdeen, 1884).

LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN SKINNER. W. Walker, LL.D. (Aberdeen, 1887).

EPOCHS OF SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY. By various writers, with prefatory note by Bishop Dowden (Edinburgh, 1897).

THREE BISHOPS OF DUNKELD. G. T. S. Farquhar, M.A. (Perth, 1915).

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE OF 1764. Annotated by Bishop Dowden. New Edition, seen through the Press by H. A. Wilson. (Clarendon Press, 1922.)

THIRTY YEARS' CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOHN JEBB AND ALEXANDER KNOX. C. Forster (London, 1834). 2 volumes.

LIFE OF BISHOP JOHN JEBB. C. Forster (London, 1836). 2 volumes.

UNDERCURRENTS OF CHURCH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by T. T. Carter (London, 1899).

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF JOHN BOWDLER. Thomas Bowdler. Issued privately 1824. Printed in London, 1825.

MEMOIR OF JOSHUA WATSON. Archdeacon E. Churton (London, 1861).

A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY. Edited by S. L. Ollard, assisted by Gordon Crosse (London, 1912).

An article in the above on the Non-Jurors by Canon Ollard.

NICHOL'S LITERARY ANECDOTES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE (1779, 1785, 1792, 1798).

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

THE BRETT MSS.

by CANON OLLARD

IN 1861, Archdeacon Edward Churton published his *Memoir of Joshua Watson* in two volumes. The book is not only a record of the life of that devoted layman; it is also a mine of information about Joshua Watson's friends, the High Churchmen of the period immediately before the Oxford Movement of 1833. Some of these men had been trained among the Non-Jurors; most of them, like Mr Watson himself, were well read in the theology of Bishop Hicke and his followers; nearly all were greatly interested in the Non-Jurors' story. In Archdeacon Churton's work these points appear clearly, but there is a mysterious and provokingly allusive reference to the ultimate source for the story of the Non-Jurors which must have caught the attention of many readers. Writing of Prebendary H. H. Norris, the Archdeacon says: "it was also a part of his concern at the time (1836) to investigate the history of the decline and fall of the Non-Jurors, more especially from his persuasion of its practical bearing upon the controversies of the day. *There is a want of accuracy in the current statements about the latest members of this communion, which may perhaps be remedied by those who have the authentic records lately in the hands of Thomas Bowdler*¹." The opportunity for remedying this grave defect, the opportunity in fact, of telling fully the story of the latest Non-Jurors did not come for close on another 60 years, when the MSS. were within measurable distance of being lost to England altogether. By Mr Broxap's request, I tell the story of their recovery here.

In June 1916, if this fragment of autobiography may be pardoned, I was in Oxford for some research into two subjects unconnected with the Non-Jurors. On the day after my arrival Dr Hutton, the present Dean of Winchester, told me that some MSS. relating to the Non-Jurors were for sale by Mr Chaundy in High Street, and he advised me to go to see them. I went and found 20 folio volumes stoutly-bound in half-calf, each volume lettered (by a queer mistake) Papers of Ten (*i.e.*, The) Non-Jurors. I found that the MSS. had been on sale for some time, and that two American Universities had offered to give the price asked, viz.,

¹ *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, vol. II, p. 54. The italic type is not in the original.

£100. I begged the favour of a refusal of the MSS. for a fortnight and permission to examine some of the volumes at leisure, requests which Mr Chaundy at once most courteously granted. Examination showed that the collection was that of the papers of Dr Brett, the well-known scholar-bishop, who died in March 1743/44, and it was evident to any one acquainted with the printed accounts of the Non-Jurors that no historian had ever had access to the papers. The point of immediate importance was to secure the MSS. for the use of students in England. After consulting Mr F. Madan, Fellow of B.N.C. and then Bodley's Librarian, I prepared a hasty report on such few volumes of the MSS. as I had time to read and submitted it to the Curators of the Bodleian Library. The Curators thereupon offered to give half the sum asked for the MSS., if the other half could be raised by private subscription. This latter was not an easy task, for already the War was adversely affecting fixed incomes and in Oxford residents were giving very generously to War charities. At last, however, the sum was raised though the raising, as I well remember, took up a great part of my short stay in Oxford, and the volumes in July 1916 passed into the Bodleian Library. The benefactors who came so generously to the rescue were:

The RT REV. DR GORE (then Lord Bishop of Oxford),
 The VEN. DR ARCHER HOUBLON (then Archdeacon of Oxford),
 The late REV. DR H. S. HOLLAND (then Regius Professor of Divinity),
 The late SIR W. OSLER, Bart. (then Regius Professor of Medicine),
 The REV. DR E. W. WATSON (Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History),
 The REV. DR JAMES (President of St John's College),
 DR R. W. MACAN (then Master of University College),
 The REV. DR BRIGHTMAN (Fellow of Magdalen),
 DR A. E. COWLEY (Fellow of Magdalen and now Bodley's Librarian),
 MR F. MADAN (Fellow of B.N.C. and then Bodley's Librarian),
 The late MRS INGE,
 The REV. C. PLUMMER (Fellow of C.C.C.),
 The REV. DR PULLAN (Fellow of St John's),
 The REV. H. A. WILSON (Fellow of Magdalen), and
 The late LORD NORTHBOURNE.

Mrs Inge was, it should be noted, a daughter of Archdeacon Edward Churton, already mentioned. Lord Northbourne was patron of Betteshanger, the benefice formerly held by Dr Brett. The names of these benefactors ought to be had in remembrance by all who have any interest in the history of the Non-Jurors, as Mr Broxap's book shows. The history of the collection I have told

at length elsewhere¹; it is enough to summarise it here. Dr Brett died on March 5th, 1743/44, and his papers passed to his son Nicholas, also a Non-Juror, and a priest who had at one time acted as chaplain to Sir Robert Cotton, but who later lived at his seat at Spring Grove, near Wye, in Kent, where he died on August 20th, 1776. By his Will dated May 1st, 1775, and proved with a codicil on October 30th, 1776, he left "to my worthy friend, John Bowdler, of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., all my MSS., books, pamphlets and papers²." The gift is recorded in the *Memoir of John Bowdler* by his son Thomas as being "an honourable mark of the regard and good opinion which he (Nicholas Brett) entertained towards his pupil³." John Bowdler died on 29th June, 1823. His Will dated December 30th, 1816, and proved with three codicils on July 17th, 1823⁴, makes no specific mention of the Brett MSS., but his son Thomas is named as his residuary legatee, and to him undoubtedly the MSS. came. There is also evidence for the years 1839, 1841, 1850, 1854 and 1856, that the MSS. were at those dates in Thomas Bowdler's possession. Thomas Bowdler, Prebendary of St Paul's, died on November 12th, 1856. On his death-bed he gave the Brett MSS. to W. J. Copeland, then Rector of Farnham, Essex, and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Prebendary Bowdler's letter and a copy of Mr Copeland's reply accepting the gift, are among the Copeland MSS. now in my possession. In a letter to his friend, Archdeacon Edward Churton, dated Feast of St John the Evangelist 1859, Mr Copeland wrote of "the voluminous letters of Dr Brett which dear Mr Bowdler gave me when he was dying⁵." Mr Copeland died on August 25th, 1885, and the MSS. with all his other property passed by his Will to his nephew, Mr W. Copeland Borlase. In February 1887, the library of Mr Borlase was sold, and the Brett MSS., which are well described in the marked catalogue of the sale (now in the British Museum)⁶, were bought by the firm of Bull and Aurache. The collection was fully advertised on the front page of a catalogue of

¹ *Theology* (vol. II, no. 12), for June 1921, pp. 283-91.

² Reg. P.C.C. 415 Bellars.

³ *Memoir of John Bowdler* (1824), p. 24 note.

⁴ Reg. P.C.C. 396 Richards.

⁵ The letter is in the possession of Miss Inge, Holywell Lodge, Oxford, Archdeacon Churton's grand-daughter.

⁶ Catalogue of the sale of the library of W. C. Borlase, Esq., Sotheby, February 21st to 23rd, 1887, p. 23, Lot 317. Press mark in British Museum S.C.S. 1, etc.

that firm issued in 1888¹, and was by them sold to Mr T. W. Jackson, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Mr Jackson made no use of the MSS. and was unwilling to allow other students to see them. He held the opinion that the collection had once belonged to Bishop John Jebb of Limerick and stated this positively in a letter of February 6th, 1910². This letter led Mr H. P. K. Skipton to assert it as a fact in an *Essay on the Non-Jurors* published in 1917³. On what grounds Mr Jackson made his statement it is now impossible to discover, possibly he found some letter from or to Bishop Jebb in the volumes, but very plainly it is a complete delusion. The MSS. were known to students in the 'thirties and 'forties of the last century as the "Bowdler MSS." Prebendary Thomas Bowdler regarded them as a sacred trust. Possibly he allowed Bishop Jebb (who spent the last six years of his life in England, and from 1829 lived at Wandsworth, where he died on December 9th, 1833) to borrow the collection, as later he allowed Prebendary H. H. Norris of Hackney to borrow it in 1839; but there is no evidence of any such loan to Bishop Jebb, and the very full Life of the Bishop by his chaplain and intimate friend, Forster, published in two volumes in 1836, which gives details of the Bishop's studies, makes no allusion to any such loan. Bishop Jebb was, however, known to the Bowdler family, as his biographer tells, so such a loan is a possibility. Mr T. W. Jackson died in 1914 and the Brett MSS. were sold by his representatives to Mr Chaundy, who sold them (as I have told above) in July 1916 to the Curators of the Bodleian Library. There, it is hoped, their wanderings are ended.

The Bowdlers did not advertise the fact that these records of the Non-Jurors were in their hands, but the following references make it certain that the MSS. were in Prebendary Bowdler's possession.

1823. (Privately issued.) *Memoir of John Bowdler, Esq.*, p. 24, note. The gift of Nicholas Brett's papers and MSS. to John Bowdler is recorded. The book was subsequently issued publicly in 1824.

1839. February 7th. Prebendary H. H. Norris writes to Rev. W. J. Copeland, "I have a promise from Bowdler of the loan of his Non-Juring documents...then I shall have a bait which I trust will be irresistible⁴."

1839. *An Apology for the Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession*, by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval; Advertisement dated June 29th. Appendix K.

¹ Now in the possession of H. P. K. Skipton, Esq.

² Now in possession of H. P. K. Skipton, Esq.

³ *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. VIII, part i, p. 37.

⁴ Among the Copeland MSS. in my possession.

Consecrations of the English Non-Jurors. This is based partly on "information furnished by the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, incumbent of Sydenham," and refers to "Mr Bowdler's MSS."

1840. May. *The British Magazine*, vol. 17, p. 537. A letter signed "W," from Trinity College, Cambridge (evidently by Dr Wordsworth, Master of the College) corrects some statements in Perceval's *Apology* and states "the Bowdler MSS. are I believe, Dr Brett's papers."

1841. *An Apology, etc.*, by A. P. Perceval. Second edition; Advertisement dated June 12th. Appendix K is enlarged. The references to Mr Bowdler are unchanged.

1850. T. Brett's *Letters Relating to the State of the Church in England, etc.*, edited by Thomas Bowdler. The preface states that the *Letters* are printed from MSS. in the Editor's possession.

1854. December 14th. Prebendary Bowdler after the death of his wife, writes to Rev. W. J. Copeland, "I shall give up housekeeping, of course, and part with the books, etc. You have, I think, two volumes of Dr Brett's Letters, and you have room in your house. Will you take in all that I have of his books and papers?...I am not likely to do anything with them myself but I might perhaps talk them over a little with you if they were in your keeping¹."

1856. May 31st, June 11th. Two letters from Prebendary Bowdler to J. Hunter Reid, Esq., Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, enclosing three MSS. from the Brett papers, one of which is endorsed by Dr Brett. Mr Reid in a memorandum states that "into Mr Bowdler's possession had come a very voluminous mass of Non-Juring correspondence obtained ...on account of the intimate relations of his family with the Non-Jurors²."

1856. October 26th. Letter from Prebendary Bowdler to Rev. W. J. Copeland. "I have likewise some few books which you might take if you find any to be useful."

A letter in a faltering hand undated but evidently after the last. "My dear W. J. C.....The three folio volumes of Hickes' *Thesaurus* are Coleridge's by promise. All other books of Hickes or Brett you will take for your own and his portrait by Richardson, a pupil, I believe, of Hudson. There may be difficulty about the MSS. especially the volumes of Letters but I wish you have them."

Rev. W. J. Copeland to Prebendary Bowdler undated but clearly a reply to the last. "Very acceptable and invaluable to me will be the gift you have marked out for me. The portrait of Dr Hickes and your collection of his works and of the works and MSS. of Dr Brett and the papers so nearly connected with them touching the Scottish Church³."

Mr Bowdler died on November 12th, 1856, and the next reference in print to the MSS. is that of Archdeacon Edward Churton with which this note began.

¹ Among the Copeland MSS. in my possession.

² Among the MSS. in the Library of St John's College, Oxford.

³ These letters are among the Copeland MSS.

The collection now in the Bodleian Library appears to be complete, except that the three MSS. from it sent to Mr J. Hunter Reid in May and June 1856 are in the Library of St John's College, Oxford, and two other papers which were among the Copeland MSS. are in my possession.

A NOTE ON THE MSS. CONNECTED WITH THE NON-JURORS
IN POSSESSION OF THE COLLEGE OF BISHOPS OF
THE SCOTS CHURCH

Scarcely less important than the Brett MSS. for the history of the Non-Jurors is the collection of MSS. in possession of the Bishops of the Church in Scotland. No historian of the Non-Jurors has hitherto used them, and they supply answers to a number of hitherto unsolved puzzles. If again I may be pardoned a piece of autobiography, I was led to look to Scotland for sources for Non-Jurors' history by a suggestion from Mr H. P. K. Skipton who called my attention to the letters from Thomas Bowdler of Ashley, near Bath, written on October 1st, 1772, to his son Thomas, then studying physic at Edinburgh. These letters had been printed in 1896. The relevant passage is: "Tell him (Bishop Forbes) I have a great collection of MSS. which were lately given me and which I am now looking over. These added to what I had before take up a great deal of room and though there are many things among them which I much value yet I doubt when I am dead and gone nobody else will ever be at the trouble of reading them. The person whose they were was at Rome in 1749¹." The "person" was Thomas Wagstaffe (1692-1770) who had been appointed keeper of the Non-Juror Church Records so far back as 1722. It was suggested to me that these MSS. were the Brett papers, but the suggestion was impossible, for John Bowdler (eldest son of Thomas, the writer of the letter) was the beneficiary to whom these Brett MSS. were left, and they did not become his property till after the death of Nicholas Brett in 1776, *i.e.*, nearly four years after the date of the letter quoted above. The close connection between the Bowdlers and the Scots Bishops, especially Bishop Forbes, himself a collector of records; the fact that after the death of Bishop Gordon in November 1779, "the faithful

¹ *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, p. 271.

remnant" came ecclesiastically under the care of the Bishops of Scotland suggested the possibility that Mr Bowdler might have confided the official documents in his possession to the Scots Bishops. Through the kindness of Mr W. Spens, Fellow and Tutor of C.C.C., Cambridge, and of his father, Mr W. Spens of Glasgow, I was permitted by the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Perry, Chancellor of the Diocese of Edinburgh, to examine the catalogue of MSS. in possession of the Theological College, and then the catalogue of MSS. in the Episcopal Safe. In this last collection I found descriptions of the official documents of the Non-Jurors in England. There are all the Deeds of Consecration of every bishop of the "regular" line from Hickes and Wagstaffe in 1693 to Robert Gordon in 1741 and very much besides. Why no previous historian of the Non-Jurors thought of looking there for the facts I cannot imagine, but the fact remains that each previous student of the story overlooked it. There is no record apparently at Edinburgh of when or how these very precious records came into the possession of the Scots Bishops, possibly they were given by one or other of the Bowdler family. I do not find any evidence among Mr Copeland's MSS. that the records now at Edinburgh had ever belonged to him. Most probably at Bishop Gordon's death the official MSS. would pass automatically into the keeping of those who had consented to exercise jurisdiction over his flock, *i.e.*, the Bishops of Scotland.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE NON-JURORS IN 1710—LINES OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS
THOUGHT—BP. GEORGE HICKES AND THE NEW CONSECRATIONS

THE title of this book will indicate that it is not proposed to tell the complete story of the Non-Juror Movement from its commencement at the Revolution of 1688. The story of the original Non-Jurors has been told with great completeness and no additional information relating to the earlier period is to be found in the special sources from which this book is derived. It will be convenient to take as the starting point the year 1710 which was marked by the death of Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, the expressed opinion of Bishop Ken that the schism ought now to end, and the return to the Church of Dodwell, Nelson and Cherry. It has been remarked with great force by Mr Lathbury that the year 1710 marks the dividing line between the earlier and later Non-Jurors, and the subject which is now to be developed relates only to those who opposed Dodwell's contention expressed in his *Case in View, Now in Fact*, that the guilt of schism was henceforth to be imputed to those who persisted in their separation from the National Church. The number of those who were so resolved had become very small. Thomas Brett, writing in the year 1733 in a moment of depression, says, "We are become shepherds without a flock¹." It is possible that it would be an exaggeration to use such language in describing the condition of the Non-Jurors in 1710 but they had already become a small flock and were very rapidly becoming smaller. The decline is to be noted not merely in point of numbers. There was around the heads of the deprived Fathers a halo of romance which could not be transferred to their suffragans and successors, George Hickes and Thomas Wagstaffe, the latter of whom was a shadowy Bishop who to all appearance never exercised his office². George Hickes was of a much more militant type but the very fact of his consecration was unknown to many adherents to the cause of the Non-Jurors. Among the inferior clergy the name of Charles Leslie (1650-1722) stands out pre-eminently. Leslie had, however, been outlawed on the 24th

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, folio 106.

² Nicholas Brett in his *Considerations* states that Thomas Wagstaffe would never consent to perform any episcopal office.

July 1710 and spent the remainder of his life for the most part at the Court of the Chevalier at St Germain's and Bar-le-Duc. This enforced absence from England prevented Leslie from taking any active part in the affairs of the little Church which was known as the "communion of Dr Hickes." Leslie returned to his native country of Ireland shortly before his death in 1722. He may be reckoned as belonging definitely to the earlier part of the story, although he made a well known contribution to the literature of the disputes which began in the year 1716¹.

The cause of the Non-Jurors received invaluable support in the continued adherence of another outlaw, Jeremy Collier² (1650-1726), who had been one of the first to attack the principles of the Revolution in his *The Desertion Discussed in a Letter to a Country Gentleman* (1688 qto.) in answer to Bishop Burnet's defence of King William. But there were no others among the clergy who could be described as leaders in the highest sense of the word. Among the laity who were prepared to adhere to the later developments of the Movement there still remained men of high personal character and standing of whom Heneage Finch, fourth Earl of Winchelsea, and Thomas Bowdler may be quoted as leading examples. It is nevertheless a matter of fact that none were left to the little body who could be compared to the men of the "Shottesbrook Group," who rejoined the Church in the year 1710. It is clear, if this estimate is accepted as correct, that it is proposed to tell the story of a small body which was already showing unmistakable signs of decay. There remained, nevertheless, in this

¹ Leslie combined extreme devotion to the cause of the Stuarts with great personal attachment to the titular James III. A copy of a letter written by him on the 1st January 1715/16 to Gilbert Burnet is preserved in the *Notices of Oxford Writers*, Rawl. MSS. J. 4^a11, p. 40. It contains interesting passages which show that Leslie claimed that credit was due to James III for an act which is particularly associated with the name of Queen Anne, "moreover as a particular mark of his favour to the Church of England he remitted the tenths and first fruits payable by the Bishops and Clergy to the Crown, which his sister knowing, she did it afterwards and received addresses of thanks from all parts of the nation, which indeed were justly due to him who had done it before she came to the throne...he has since confirmed the same intentions and promised to make them good in his letter bearing date 2nd May 1711, wrote all with his own hand and now lying in London which your Lordship may see and have copies, if you desire."

² Son of Jeremy Collier of Papworth and Elizabeth Smith of Quay, Cambs.; sizar at Caius College, 1668; B.A. 1672/73, M.A. 1676; ordained deacon Ely 24th Sept. 1676, priest London 24th Feb. 1677/78.

communion men who by force of learning, devotion and personal character were able to sustain the movement in an organised form to the borders of the nineteenth century. It is appropriate in this place to submit considerations which may serve to correct any judgment which is made from the point of view of mere numbers. The influence of the Non-Juror Movement upon the life and practice of the Church was always great, and will receive many illustrations in the course of this book. Many remained in the communion of the Church, whose consciences allowed them to take, or whose material interests forbade them to refuse, the Oaths, who nevertheless had a strong sympathy with the few men who carried their principles to the logical extreme.

There were current, in the early years of the eighteenth century, four main lines of political and religious thought which were not very exactly separated.

There was in the first place the Whig Party which desired above all things the consolidation of the Protestant Succession. This point of view may be illustrated by Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Burnet. In the second place, there was the party of the political Jacobites of whom Bishop Francis Atterbury and Charles Leslie may be taken as leading examples. In the third place there was a numerous section which desired that the Church of England should be made capable of embracing all shades of Protestant opinion. This school may be represented by two men who will appear in the story as opponents of Thomas Brett in the controversies which will be related in a later chapter, Thomas Bell, the deprived Vicar of Askham, and John Lewis, Vicar of Margate, who claimed that the faith and practice of the Primitive Church was now exhibited to the world by the Church of England and the foreign reformed bodies¹.

Lastly, there was the school represented by Johnson of Cranbrook and George Hickes whose main belief was in the Church as

¹ John Lewis (1675-1747), Vicar of Margate 1705 and of Minster 1709, was a typical representative of the opposite pole of religious and political thought to that adopted by Hickes, Johnson and Brett. As a reward for his zealous support of the Protestant succession he was made Master of Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury. He was a voluminous author, being noted for a *History of John Wiclif* and other kindred subjects, also for valuable topographical works dealing with the County of Kent. In 1715 he published *An Answer to some Exceptions in Dr Brett's late Vindication etc. against the agreement of the Lutheran Churches, etc.*

a distinct spiritual society and whose object was to revive the practices of the primitive and undivided Church. It is true that no Non-Juror could support the Hanoverian succession, but with this exception, any of the opinions which have been mentioned above, might be and as a matter of fact were held both by those who remained in the communion of the Church and those who communicated with George Hickes. It may be said in fact as it is often said about religious divisions of our own day that the lines of cleavage were horizontal rather than vertical. It followed as a matter of course that men who held the same beliefs were naturally drawn together, and a difference of external communion was not felt to be of supreme importance. This sympathy, using the word in its most literal sense, between adherents to the Church and actual Non-Jurors, may be illustrated from two points of view. The first point is that of identity of political belief. It is a well known fact that many of the clergy of the diocese of London during the reign of Queen Anne were Jacobites at heart and there may be quoted a passage from the Brett MSS. which has some reference to this point. The Rev. R. Foley, a London incumbent, writing to Thomas Brett on the 10th December 1713 gives the following information:

Dr Sacheverell preached before the Sons of the Clergy...afterwards a gathering took place where Dr Bisse, Bishop of Hereford, and the Bishop of Rochester honoured us with their presence... we drank a great many loyal healths and the musicians were so foolish as to play a tune which they say is called "The King shall enjoy his own again." However, it was received with universal acclamations and was often repeated and when they offered at another tune they were as universally hissed.

This was truly a Jacobite field-day, and it will be acknowledged that the line of division between these men and the strict Non-Jurors was not very clearly defined.

The second point of fellowship which was, as a matter of experience, felt to exist between those who were within and without the communion of the National Church touches upon a much more serious subject and will receive notice at some length in the following pages. It has reference to the increasing interest which was manifested on all hands in the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church. The writings of two men, one an incumbent in the diocese of Canterbury, the other a convinced Non-Juror who had sacrificed

high dignity for the sake of his principles, will illustrate this development of thought. In 1710 there appeared a work from the pen of John Johnson of Cranbrook entitled *The Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Eucharist*, which was followed in 1714 by the best-known work of the same writer, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*. In the year 1711 George Hickes gave to the world the third and complete edition in two volumes of his *Christian Priesthood*. The titles of these works will sufficiently indicate the line of thought which was being developed by the two writers, who built upon a foundation common to both. A brief quotation from Hickes' *Priesthood* (vol. I, p. 145) will suffice to show the underlying argument:

He that will not submit to the concurrent evidence of the Ancient Liturgies, Fathers and Councils may bring into controversy, not to mention other things received by the Church in all ages, the divine authority of the inspired writings, infant baptism, episcopacy, the Lord's Day and even the divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and so at once blow up the Catholic Faith and Church.

By way of further illustration there may be given a quotation from Dr Brett's "Summary of the Non-Jurors' Controversies":

In these treatises the learned Bishop very much urged the necessity of offering the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist as a proper sacrifice...He shows that the ancient fathers who lived in and others very near the Apostles' times as well as the later fathers and the whole Christian Church for 1500 years always esteemed the Eucharist to be a sacrifice and offered the Bread and Cup to God as such¹.

Johnson and Hickes were in hearty sympathy with each other and Hickes expressed his opinion that "Johnson deserved thanks from the whole Church of God²." These two works exercised a very great influence on the religious thought which was current during the last years of the reign of Queen Anne. It will be seen in the next chapter that both works are quoted by Thomas Brett as being the causes which most strongly influenced the development of his devotion to primitive belief.

The aim of this brief account of some of the relations which

¹ Dr Brett's MS. of the Non-Jurors' Controversy, p. 3.

² Copies of interesting letters from Robt. Nelson to Johnson written in 1710 are preserved among the College Papers (Quarto Volume, No. 9). Nelson cordially thanks Johnson for "new light" on the subject of the Sacrifice.

existed between the Church and the Non-Jurors in the first ten or twelve years of the eighteenth century has been to show that the dividing line was in places very thin, and that the Non-Jurors were able to exercise upon the Church an influence out of all proportion to their scanty numbers. It is necessary, however, to emphasize the fact that the Non-Juror Movement was actually a schism. The word is not used in any theological sense but simply in order to denote an actual separation which was about to become much more pronounced by the new consecrations of Non-Juror bishops which were made in the year 1713.

Information of great interest and value is to be found in the papers preserved in the "Jolly Kist" which has received some notice in the Bibliography. Previous writers have not made use of these MSS. and it is proposed to reproduce in brief form certain letters which were written by George Hickes to various correspondents from the years 1699 to 1712. It will be noted that Hickes had a clear purpose of continuing the separation and that the accomplishment of this purpose may be said with justice to be due to the tenacity with which he held to his resolution. On the 24th October 1699 Hickes wrote to Bishop Ken strongly protesting against the proposed resignation of his Bishopric. "In His good time God will raise large and lovely structures of pure and primitive-like communions upon the foundations we shall lay." Hickes begs Ken to give himself to this work and to use his gifts to reform the liturgy, "making it fuller and more fit for a reformed communion that desires to be primitive and truly catholic in everything¹." In a further letter dated the 10th November 1701 Hickes refers to Ken's resignation with great regret. "Give me leave to add my own and my brother W.'s opinion that you cannot resign regularly and justifiably without the consent of your colleagues nor to none but them²." It is evident that Hickes considered from this time that Bishop Ken had left the communion of the Non-Jurors. In answer to a correspondent asking him to whom he was now subject after the death of the Bishop of Norwich, Hickes writes: "Doctor Ken the late Bishop of Bath and Wells, as he hath long styled himself, hath left us many years having as much as he could

¹ College Papers, folio 6, p. 20.

² *Ibid.* p. 21. It may be inferred from certain passages in these letters that Bishop Ken had expressed his strong dislike of the consecrations of 1693 which he had been forced to tolerate against his judgment.

divested himself of his right and title by resignation to Doctor Hooper¹."

There may now be related certain facts which are recorded by Nicholas Brett in his *Considerations*.

In the year 1706 Dr Higden, Mr Shadrach Cook with some others held several private meetings without the knowledge of the majority of the presbyters wherein 'twas said they drew up a petition to the Bishop of Norwich to desire him to demit... Mr Leslie was privy to it but 'twas not long before Bishop Hicke got an intimation of it who immediately expostulated with Mr L. upon it. He told him among other things that the Bishop of Norwich was much gruelled at it and would never consent to grant it, because he believed he could not do it without betraying the trust which was committed to him by God...Mr L. declined any further hand in it...On 20th November 1706 Bishop Hicke sent this correspondence to the Bishop of Norwich.

Mr Brett goes on to say that Higden, Cook and others complied at this time without waiting for the CASE IN FACT.

Reference may be made in the next place to a correspondence between Hicke and Robt. Nelson at the time when the latter was led to return to the public communion.

ROBT. NELSON to GEORGE HICKES, 15th January 1709/10

You shall receive as occasion offers what objections are made against continuing the separation, but as yet I have avoided all discourse upon the subject except with one learned man of our common acquaintance and the reason is because I would be cautious in reference to the only principle upon which I think we can defend ourselves, which is the non-vacancy of the sees. I am very well satisfied that you will do what lies in your power to heal our breaches and nobody can have a greater deference for your judgment than myself, though I must own I do not see my way clearly at present².

From Hicke's reply, which was sent without delay, it is evident that the purpose of Nelson to forsake the Non-Jurors' communion was clearly understood.

GEORGE HICKES to ROBT. NELSON, 16th January 1709/10

I was much surprised and discomforted last night at the conclusion of your letter. Do you not remember the message you sent me by Mr Spinckes with the copy of your *Festivals and Fasts*,

¹ College Papers, f. 6, p. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 2.

soon after you came to know the secret: namely, that you were to do nothing without the Bishop? And what you said to me last year when I was sick, as well as at other times. "We cannot spare you, we have need of you, we shall want you," and other expressions to that purpose. And do you think now of leaving us? If I thought myself secure in any man's duty it was yours, and therefore think it not strange that I tell you I expect and challenge it from you in the name of our great High Priest in heaven and for the sake of our communion which despised as it is I think the purest and most unblemished of all Churches...it is the last letter I think you will receive from him on this subject, who by God's providence is left to take care of the little flock of the faithful remnant.

From other letters of Hickes which are concerned with the question of the continuance of the succession there is selected an appeal which he made to his brother-suffragan and colleague Thos. Wagstaffe.

GEORGE HICKES *to* THOS. WAGSTAFFE, *December 1711*

I cannot be easy in my mind till I have done all that is in me to continue the succession and were it entirely in my power I should think myself obliged in conscience to do it for the following reasons:

I. Our principles demand the continuance of our communion which depends upon the succession.

II. The great national schism can never be healed, unless there is a succession of Catholic Bishops to whom the schismatics may return.

III. The late King James desired and commanded this to be done, and the present King is acquainted and approves the same.

IV. This is desired and expected by the greater part of the faithful remnant, both clergy and people.

Wherefore to satisfy my own conscience in that particular, I herein make my application to you, with all fraternal affection and respect, that if you think fit we may join together in this good work which I remember in our last conference you told me you thought that the survivor of us was in duty bound to do. But considering both our infirmities, and that at the decease of either of us the other may not be able to perform it, I think it incumbent of us to do it with joint consent, while it is called to-day, lest the night should come upon us when neither of us can work¹.

¹ College Papers, f. 6, p. 2.

THOS. WAGSTAFFE to GEORGE HICKES, 21st February 1711/12

It is high time to ask your pardon that I have been thus long before I answered your letter, but I hope you will excuse it by reason of my illness and that upon two accounts: the one is the importance of the matter, which (if I mistake not) requires the best and most mature consideration which, God knows, my head cannot at this time very well accommodate itself to. The other arises from this, that upon the best consideration I can now make the thing itself appears to me impracticable, that it has no foundation to rest upon, but that the least opposition which will or may hereafter be made to it cannot fail but it must sink under it and come to nothing and that consequently we shall utterly destroy and irrevocably defeat what is designed to be built up,...whenever you favour me with a visit, I will show you what grounds I go upon¹.

Finally, some reference may be made to letters which passed between Leslie and Hickes probably in the last year or two in the life of the latter. These papers were found by Bishop Forbes among the MSS. of Robt. Lyon, whose name will appear in the later stages of this story. Leslie made a strong attack on the secrecy of the new consecrations in 1693. He asserted that these "hidden" bishops could never claim to be principles of unity, and while approving of the continuance of the succession in Scotland, earnestly desired Hickes to use the present opportunity for making peace in England. Hickes' reply was couched in vigorous language. The main points of his arguments were: (1) The consecrations and the proposed continuation of the succession were entirely approved by James II and his successor. (2) If it was right for Scotland to consecrate new bishops, it could not be wrong for the same step to be taken in England, as the two countries were on the same footing. (3) The consecrations which were proposed in 1659, but were rendered unnecessary by the Restoration, would certainly have been as clandestine as any which had been or might be performed under the present circumstances. In a word, Hickes charged Leslie with "building on sand²."

It will now be evident that the decision taken by Hickes to continue the succession was the result of convictions held for many

¹ College Papers, f. 6, p. 95, with a subscription by John Blackburne 11th January 1731/32. "I vouch this to be carefully copied from the original many years in my custody."

² *Ibid.* f. 8, p. 476.

years. On the 17th October 1712 Thos. Wagstaffe the elder, the titular suffragan of Ipswich, died, leaving George Hickes the sole representative of the succession from the deprived fathers. The time for action was now at hand. There were, however, two practical difficulties to be overcome before actual consecrations of bishops could be performed. In the first place there was the question of the royal consent. It is well known that in the original record of the new consecrations the phrase *regio consensu prius impetrato* is used. There is a certain amount of new information available on this point which may be recorded, although it must be admitted that the evidence is of somewhat conflicting character. There will be related in a later chapter an account of a dispute which arose concerning the question of royal consent about the year 1740. In the course of this dispute references are made to the action of Hickes, at the period which is now being considered. George Smith wrote on the 4th August 1738 (O.S.) to Thos. Wagstaffe the younger, then in Rome:

I have indeed found a letter of Dr Hickes to Mr Leslie which gives me some reason to believe the fact is highly probable and besides I can't entertain the thought of so good and great a man as Dr Hickes insisting on the charge if he had not really obtained the consent the charge imports¹.

On the other hand, Richard Rawlinson in one of his frequent outbursts of ill-temper declared that the whole phrase *regio, etc.* is "a lie²."

Some additional information is to be found in a very valuable record which was made by Thos. Brett of all Non-Juror consecrations to the year 1733 and is preserved among his MSS.³ It is not to be confused with the *Apographa Consecrationum* which were printed copies of the original deeds. It is written in a very informal style and contains indications that Brett quoted some details from memory. Brett begins by noting the consecrations of Hickes and Wagstaffe in 1693 and then continues:

After that, the Non-Jurors received a direction from King James II and his son King James III to continue their successions in such manner as they should see expedient, without further application to either of them.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XI, f. 363.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XIX, ff. 101 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* vol. XII, f. 71.

It is probable in view of this conflicting evidence that no direct application was made by Hickes for "royal consent" to the consecrations which he proposed to effect in the year 1713.

The second difficulty which Hickes had to resolve concerned the method by which a canonical consecration by not less than three bishops might be accomplished. There are in the story a few instances of consecrations by bishops acting alone, but there was at the period under review no thought of irregularities of this description. There was only one direction in which Hickes could turn, and Brett's account may now be resumed. "But all the English bishops that were Non-Jurors died without making any more consecrations, except Dr George Hickes. And therefore in order to continue the succession, application was made to the Scottish bishops for their assistance." The two bishops who actually joined Hickes in the consecrations, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar, will occupy prominent positions in the story of the English Non-Jurors. The question may well be asked what were these Scottish bishops doing in London at all. The reply is that they were not really consecrated as bishops of the Scottish Church, as will be seen from a quotation from Bishop Rattray's account of the Scottish Church after the Revolution. Referring to the consecration of Campbell, Rattray writes:

I find by a letter of the Bishop of Edinburgh dated 2nd July 1711, that he expected Mr C. at Edinburgh twenty days after... and he says in this letter Mr C. was to be altogether incognito, and he was consecrated at Dundee 25th August in the same year 1711 by the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Bishop of Dunblane and Bishop Falconar...this was done upon the recommendation and at the earnest desire of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hickes, whose design therein no doubt was that he might be assistant to him at London whither he returned after his consecration and hath remained there ever since. But Bishop C.'s consecration was not alone sufficient for their purpose in England, and therefore the Bishop of Edinburgh was prevailed upon by their solicitation to send up Bishop Falconar to London in the year 1711 in order to consecrate Mr James Gadderar who was well known and much esteemed by him, and accordingly he was consecrated there on 24th February 1711/12 by Bishops Falconar, Campbell and Hickes¹.

¹ College Papers. "From a copy (in Bishop Alexander's writing) of MSS. of Bishop Rattray marked No. V."

Campbell remained in London for the remainder of his life. On the 16th January 1713/14, he married Mrs Anne Tempest, the ceremony being performed by Bishop Hicke and witnessed by Bishop Gadderar¹. Campbell's election in 1721 as Bishop of Aberdeen by the presbyters of that diocese was not confirmed by the "College" bishops of the time. In 1723 Campbell delegated whatever authority he may have possessed to his friend James Gadderar, who then returned to his native country to administer the see, and in 1725 Campbell went through the form of a resignation. Some account will be given of the difficulties which awaited Gadderar in entering upon a charge as the successor of one whose original right was never admitted by the majority of the Scottish bishops.

Notwithstanding the fact that Campbell and Gadderar may be said to be links in the chain of the succession which was now to be accomplished by Bishop Hicke, it must be remembered that they were always regarded as Scottish bishops and not seldom as foreigners. The question of the relations which existed between the English and Scottish "Non-Jurant" Churches is one of great interest and importance. It is indeed impossible to form a just estimate of the movement in England without some knowledge of the state of affairs across the border, and many references will be made in the course of this book to the fortunes of the faithful remnant of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. It is sufficient to point out that the whole Episcopal communion in Scotland had been Non-Jurant and proscribed by law since the time of the Revolution. Alexander Rose, the deprived Bishop of Edinburgh, who claimed to be Vicar of St Andrews², was the only bishop who exercised territorial jurisdiction. The other prelates were bishops at large or, as they came to be called, "College Bishops." In the growth of the system of bishops without dioceses there lay the seeds of future divisions in the Church. It should also be remembered that questions of great importance had to be solved at a time when the order of the Church was practically in ruins, and great confusion was inevitably caused by this fact.

It is exceedingly difficult to estimate the character of Archibald Campbell. It is evident from many letters in the Brett MSS. that

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 321. On the 26th March 1715 Bishop Spinckes writes to Bishop Falconar that Campbell, Gadderar and the latter's nephew have settled in one house in his neighbourhood and he expects good company. (*Ibid.* No. 1181.)

² *I.e.* the representative of the vacant metropolitical see of Scotland.

he was commonly regarded as being untrustworthy in a manner which could not be exactly defined. On the other hand, it should be said that Campbell was by no means the extreme fanatic who has been described by previous writers. He is clearly shown as a man of great toleration and moderation as will be illustrated in the following pages. It is also due to Campbell's memory to state that he was a truly spiritually minded man. In the curious MS. Book of Devotions¹ there are to be found many fervent expressions which rise almost to the height of "enthusiasm," which is not a common feature of the religious experience exhibited by the Non-Jurors. Some curious and previously unknown details of his career are related by Campbell himself in a letter of remonstrance written to the College Bishops on the 13th April 1722:

I was solicited by the Non-Juring Bishops of England (particularly the Bishops of Ely and Peterborough) some years after the Revolution to accept of the same character here for which I perceive I am now envied there. And (if I could have complied with the times) the late Archbishop of York offered me from his then Mistress the first Bishopric that should fall unless it were one of the biggest of all. I was also importuned by the late most worthy Bishop of Edinburgh and the excellent Mr Sage to the same purpose there and for several years I withstood the first and last of these proposals, but at last (I am sorry for it now and have often repented it since), I yielded to accept in Scotland (Dr H. pushing me on to it), thus preferring my own country and not with any visions of preferment, profit and honour².

These, then, were the two bishops to whom Hickee turned in order to fulfil his cherished purpose of continuing the separation. It will be noted that the Scottish bishops were two to one, a fact for which the Non-Jurors showed little sense of gratitude to their northern friends. There was manifested, on the contrary, in both of the sections which shortly afterwards developed, a strong objection to Campbell as a foreigner, which brought forth some bitter complaints not without some appearance of justification³.

¹ See Bibliography, p. xiii.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 284. It should be said once and for all that Campbell's statements, unless otherwise corroborated, ought not always to be taken at their face value.

³ See letter of A. C. to Brett 25th January 1734/35 referring to those who dislike him on account of nationality. "They have an aversion to all who are born beyond the imaginary line which divides England and Scotland so much that I am not sure they would have professed Christianity if our Blessed Saviour had been born thereof."

As to the candidates for the Episcopal office, reference may be made again to Brett's account.

JEREMIAH COLLIER, M.A., was consecrated a Bishop of the Church of England on Ascension Day, 14th May 1713, by George Hickes, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar in Dr Hickes' oratory in Ormonde Street, London, in the presence of Henry Gandy and Thomas Stampe, presbyters, and Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea and Sir Thomas Lestrangle, Bart. SAMUEL HAWES, M.A., and NATHANIEL SPINCKES, M.A., were both consecrated bishops at the same time by the same persons.

In view of what has already been written concerning these three bishops and of the fact that they will occupy prominent positions in this story, very few words of personal description will now suffice. Jeremy Collier will generally be regarded as *facile princeps*, notwithstanding Mr Lathbury's claim for Spinckes as being in no wise Collier's inferior. At the time of his consecration Collier was in charge of a small congregation which met in Broad Street, London, in a chapel which is described as "up two flights of stairs." He had been an outlaw since 1696 and conducted his correspondence in the name of "J. Smith," which he may have adopted from the fact that his mother was Elizabeth Smith of a family of some standing in Cambridgeshire. The charge of a small congregation certainly appears to have afforded a very pitiful scope for the exercise of the abilities of a man of Collier's standing.

Samuel Hawes of Trinity College, Oxford, Vicar of Braybrook, Leicestershire, 1685, was living in 1713 "opposite to St James' Palace," and was Chaplain to the fourth Earl of Winchilsea. He took a very active part in the "Usages" controversy, the particulars of which will be related in this book for the first time. Hawes left £50 in his Will to his old parish; the sum to be put out at interest and the interest on this sum, together with a similar sum left by his predecessor, to be devoted to the maintenance of a teacher for poor children¹.

Nathaniel Spinckes (1653-1727), successively lecturer at S. Stephen Walbrook, Rector of Peakirk, nr. Peterborough, and Rector of St Martin's and Prebendary of Salisbury, was one of the most intimate friends of George Hickes. The fact that Spinckes was impelled by reasons which are not very obvious to take up an

¹ See Overton, *Non-Jurors*, p. 134.

attitude of unyielding opposition to the policy of those who claimed especially to represent the mind of Bishop Hicke presents one of the unsolved problems in the history of the Non-Jurors. Spinckes exercised a very considerable influence on the religious thought of the eighteenth century by the publication of his *Church of England Man's Companion—or, A Complete Manual of Private Devotions* (London, 1721). This work was frequently quoted as a leading manual of devotion until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It may be said in brief of all the three men who now enter into the story that they were fitted by their character and attainments for a much wider sphere of service than was opened to them by means of these consecrations which, if not clandestine, were at any rate highly irregular.

George Hicke had now reached the limits of his active life. He had suffered severely from stone for a considerable period. On the 2nd May 1712 he wrote to Brett: "I have been hindered by my own infirmities which make it uneasy to me to go up two pairs of stairs to my Study and to reach books¹." Hicke had, however, the good fortune to admit into his little communion during these last years two men who were destined to take a great part in the later stages of the Non-Juror Movement, the one a layman, Roger Laurence, the other a beneficed priest in the diocese of Canterbury whose name was already well known throughout the Church, Thos. Brett of "Spring Grove." Laurence is known to all students of eighteenth-century theology as the great opponent of Lay Baptism. The following account of his early life is taken from *Notices of Oxford Writers, etc.*²:

He was born of dissenting parents and named amongst them and afterwards educated in Christ's Hospital and from thence taken into the family of the Lethieulliers by whom he was sent into Spain where he continued a factor many years. Notwithstanding his employment in a counting house, he applied himself closely to the study of divinity in which he succeeded beyond expectation, and having overcome the prejudices of his first education and thinking his baptism invalid, he was baptised according to the Adult Form in Christ Church, London, by the Rev. Mr Betts, then Curate, a proceeding which very much alarmed several of the Clergy who with much difficulty abstained from a public censure in convocation, though it was justly and boldly

¹ Brett MSS., vol. I, f. 447.

² Rawlinson MSS. J. 4^a11, p. 34.

defended by him against a learned prelate (who took notice of it in a charge to his clergy), with a strength of reason and authority which surprised the world: his friends engaged the University of Oxford to honour him and countenance his orthodox principles by conferring on him the degree of Master of Arts in a full convocation at the end of the public act in 1713.

The Lethieulliers were engaged largely in trade with Spain. The connection which Laurence had with this family appears never to have been broken. It was at Kent House, Beckenham, the country house of the family, and now used as a Nursing Home, that Laurence died in 1736. One or two letters may be quoted from the Brett MSS. as illustrating the account taken from Rawlinson's record. The proposed declaration of convocation in favour of Lay Baptism is referred to by Canon Overton¹. It was not originally proposed in convocation and was always strongly opposed by a number of the bishops including John Sharp, Archbishop of York, with whom Laurence came to be on terms of friendship. The declaration was eventually rejected by the Lower House, but the controversy continued for some time. The "learned prelate," mentioned above, was William Fleetwood of S. Asaph, later of Ely, who represented the extreme section of the Whig Party. In 1712, Bishop Fleetwood delivered a charge entitled, *The Judgment of the Church of England on Lay Baptism, etc.*, to which Laurence makes some reference in a letter to Thos. Brett written 14th May 1712.

The enclosed Answer to Bishop Fleetwood's Judgment of the Church of England (as he calls it) I hope will prevail with you to pardon my thus long silence, especially when I tell you that not only my writing that book was the occasion thereof, but also my making some additions and alterations in my Book on Lay Baptism for a third edition, which God Willing must speedily come forth if an order from the Queen and Council does not first put a stop to it. For my lord Archbishop of York has told me that the Lord Treasurer assured him last week there would speedily come out such an order to stop all our and your pens from meddling any more in this matter of Lay Baptism.

Laurence goes on to refer to the Archbishop of York's refusal to sign the declaration and predicts its rejection in the Lower House of Convocation².

It is well known that the honour which was given to Laurence

¹ *Non-Jurors*, p. 352.

² Brett MSS., vol. 1, f. 453.

by the University of Oxford was in some measure due to the influence of Charles Wheatly, two letters from whose pen may be quoted, both written from St John's College, Oxford, and addressed to Thomas Brett. On the 27th May 1712 Wheatly refers to Fleetwood's "Judgment, etc.," and highly praises "The excellent answer to it made by your good and worthy friend, Mr Laurence¹." On the 12th January 1713/14 Wheatly apologizes for his neglect in writing, which is due to labour on his work concerning the "Common Prayer." "I desire to know how our University giving Mr Laurence this degree is relished in Kent." Wheatly hints plainly enough that he himself had some responsibility in the matter².

The circumstances under which Laurence formally joined the Non-Jurors are not known, but he was in close touch with George Hickes in 1712 and probably for some years before that date. Whether his formal reception took place at a long or short period before his Ordination is uncertain, but on 30th November 1714 he received Deacons' Orders from Hickes, and on 19th December following the same bishop conferred upon him Priests' Orders, and the act of separation from the Church of England was in the case of Laurence very complete. The language which he allowed himself to use towards his former communion was violent and unrestrained³. The estimate of Laurence's character which has been given by previous writers is fully sustained by the letters in the Brett MSS. He was a controversialist who knew no scruples, as Brett and Rawlinson in much later times found to their cost.

The second convert whom Hickes received in the last few months of his life demands a much more detailed description. Thomas Brett of Spring Grove was the most distinguished adherent whom the small body of Non-Jurors attracted to itself during the whole course of the movement, and an account of Brett's previous career written by his own hand, will be given in the next chapter.

The names of the principal adherents to the movement at the time of the death of Queen Anne will be found in Appendix I, in which are also included brief biographies of many of the characters who appear in the following pages. It is not thought necessary to insert the names of those who have received special notice in this chapter.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. I, f. 461.

² *Ibid.* f. 604.

³ Rev. R. Foley, writing to Brett on 17th April 1715, refers to Laurence's most violent and implacable enmity to us."

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS BRETT

HIS SECESSION TO THE NON-JURORS AND CONSE-
CRATION AS BISHOP—THE GREEK NEGOTIATIONS

THERE is preserved in the Brett MSS. a most interesting account of the life of Thomas Brett to the year 1732 written by his own hand¹. This date marked the completion of a union among Non-Jurors which was largely brought about by Brett's efforts. The story was written for the benefit of Richard Rawlinson, who possessed an insatiable appetite for information of all kinds and had, moreover, an extremely complete method of preserving what he had acquired for the benefit of future generations. Brett's account is too long to be given in full, but a few extracts may be quoted together with some comments by means of which certain facts hitherto unknown concerning Brett's life may be related in their proper place. The date of Brett's letter to Rawlinson is 20th June 1732.

I was born at Betteshanger, near Sandwich in Kent, the seat of John Boys, Esq., my mother's father, with whom my father and mother boarded the two or three first years of their marriage, on September 3rd, and was baptised September 8th in the year 1667. Some years afterwards my father removed to Wye in the same County, where he had a small estate, on which he lived. And not liking the situation of the house, where his ancestors had lived for several generations, he pulled it down and rebuilt it in a more convenient place in the same parish, where was a small grove of trees and a pleasant stream of water and then gave it the name of Spring Grove. Here he settled in the year 1674. I was then put to the Grammar School at Wye, the master of which at that time was John Paris, M.A. He dying in 1677 was succeeded by Mr Samuel Pratt under whom I continued at the same school till the year 1684....I was admitted into Queens' College, Cambridge, the 20th March 1684/5, where I continued till the long vacation of 1687....But being senior Soph I was drawn in to keep more company and spend more money than I ought to have done. This provoked my father to send for me home again and to keep me at home until the end of the year 1689. So that I missed my time for taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and thereupon resolved to take the degree of Bachelor of Laws....I left Queens' College and removed to Bennet or Corpus Christi College

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xix, ff. 33 *et seq.*

where I took the degree of LL.B. on St Barnabas' Day 1690. I made no scruple at that time to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to King William and Queen Mary. For my father and other my nearest relatives were Whigs and had taught me Whig principles....But my schoolmaster, Mr Pratt, had also given me some Tory principles, which had made an impression on me when I was at his school which I could not thoroughly reconcile with the Revolution. However, I found he took the oaths and was as hearty as anyone in the Revolution. He quitted the school and was got into the Court and was Chaplain to the young Duke of Gloucester. As soon as I had taken my degree, he kindly invited me to his house at Kensington where I continued till I was ordained deacon at Chelsea on St Thomas' Day being Sunday 21st December 1690 by Dr Mew, being then Bishop of Winton. Then I went to Folkestone and served that cure till the September following....I went to London and being ordained Priest by Dr Grove, Bishop of Chichester, in the parish of St Andrew, Undershaft, 20th September 1691, I went to Islington and was chosen Lecturer of that Church. Mr Gery, the Vicar, being a Tory or (as they soon after began to be called) High Church, and my conversation being much with him and his acquaintance, I became entirely of the same principles.

Brett then relates in some detail his return to Kent on the death of his father in 1696, his marriage in the same year to Bridget, youngest daughter of Sir Nicholas Toke, who at that time lived in the parish of Great Chart, which Brett served as Curate, his proceeding to the degree of LL.D. in 1697 and his appointment to the living of Betteshanger in 1702 and to Rucking in 1705. These livings were worth, according to Brett's account, £150 per annum "curates paid." In the year 1701 Brett made his bow to the literary public in the publication of his *Church Government*. It is worth noting that even at this early period Brett won the approbation of those who were in later life to be his religious associates. In a letter from Mrs Sherman of Canterbury to Brett on 24th July 1701, it is said that "Mr Hawes commends it very much¹." Brett appears to have received many letters of congratulation on this work and it is clear that he was regarded as a rising man, for on 15th January 1701/02 Dr George Thorp wrote from Christ Church, Canterbury, to invite Brett to supply one of the Six Preachers on Candlemas Day next, an offer which was thankfully accepted².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. 1, f. 151.

² *Ibid.* f. 163.

As to the question of the oaths, Brett's own account may be resumed:

When I took these livings I made no scruple to take the Oath of Abjuration after each institution and induction, for indeed I was so weak at that time to believe the person I abjured was not the son of the late King James, having heard it so confidently and constantly asserted and maintained by persons whom I had a good opinion of for judgment and sincerity, even from the time of his birth. One or two incidents may be related in this place which will serve to show both the high repute which Brett had attained in the Church and his steady progress towards a belief in the claims of the "exiled family" and in the doctrines of primitive antiquity as interpreted by George Hickes. Brett was honoured on two occasions by a command to preach before the Queen. This distinction was obtained through the good offices of Brett's old tutor, now Dean of Rochester, and John Sharp, Archbishop of York, in whose hands all such matters lay in the final resort. The Archbishop wrote to Brett on the 30th May 1711:

I had the favour of your letter for which I thank you. I am glad you mentioned the 5th November, for in truth I quite forgot the Dean of Rochester ever spoke to me about your preaching before the Queen either on that day or any other: so bad is my memory. But since I find you are willing to undertake that service I will depend on you for a sermon before Her Majesty on the 5th November and I am sure I shall never forget it—

Your very affectionate friend,

JO. EBOR¹.

Dr Pratt wrote to his old pupil on 8th September of the same year giving him what he described as a "few innuendos." "The more you preach without book the better...a cloth gown, a silk tippet, a short bobb wig, a band of the lesser size, small cuffs. A short sermon without one syllable of politics²."

Once more, on 29th November 1712, the Archbishop of York wrote to Brett stating that he would be very glad if he would supply his place on one of the days when it was his course to preach before the Queen, and suggested the 29th day of May following³. This sermon was duly delivered, and on the 30th May 1713 Brett received an official letter from Sir John Stanley, Secretary to the Lord,

¹ Brett MSS., vol. I, f. 401.

² *Ibid.* f. 411.

³ *Ibid.* f. 530.

Chamberlain, containing the Queen's command to print the sermon "delivered in St James' Chapel, yesterday¹."

The second invitation to preach before the Court is the more worthy of remark from the fact that at this time Brett was lying under the censure of Sharp's brother Metropolitan on account of his famous sermon on the Absolution and Remission of Sins. This was preached in the autumn of 1711 in three churches in the diocese of London, viz. at Gray's Inn, at St James's, Westminster, and at "Mr Higg's Chapel by St James's Park." The sermon may be described as of an "advanced" type, as judged by the standard of the day. Brett's argument as quoted in his letter to Archbishop Tenison is, in brief, that the people should bring their children to receive the Sacrament of Baptism for the remission of their original sin, to frequent the daily service where they may receive the absolution provided in the service and that, if they had committed any particular sin which needed particular repentance, they should follow the directions of the exhortation and "apply themselves to some discreet and learned minister, etc." This sermon caused a considerable sensation, and on the 5th December 1711 Archbishop Tenison, as Brett's diocesan, wrote as follows: "I have heard of a sermon preached by you...about Absolution. It makes a great noise in the town and is represented to me as Popish and the very noise of it is prejudicial both to Church and State. I am obliged, as your Diocesan, to require you to give me a true account of this matter some time this week²." On December 8th, Brett wrote a dutiful reply, giving a summary of his arguments as noted above. In view of the fact that the sermon was preached in the diocese of London the Archbishop seems to have taken no further action in the matter, but the subsequent publication of the sermon by Brett caused the matter to be debated in Convocation, as appears from a letter from Francis Atterbury to Brett written 29th April 1712. "To-morrow we meet again in Convocation and soon expect to hear there again somewhat concerning your sermon and the doctrine of Absolution, Dr Cannon having this day published an account of his motion there in relation to it and put his name to that piece³."

¹ Brett MSS., vol. I, f. 566.

² *Ibid.* f. 423.

³ *Ibid.* f. 442. Robt. Cannon (1663-1722), Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Norfolk (1708), Prebendary of Ely (1709) and Dean of Lincoln (1721), was an opponent of Hoadly as well as of Brett.

Brett issued a reply to Dr Cannon's account which brought out many letters of congratulation from which there is selected one from Johnson of Cranbrook:

The sermon, with the history of it, I received long since and now return you my most hearty thanks for it: though contradicted it most evidently shows that the Whig party who come to Church are really ignorant of the doctrines of the Church whereof they pretend to be members and that they have no other end in coming to Church, but...to be spies upon the Clergy and at last to subvert if possible, the Church itself¹.

It is right to say that in the year 1742 Brett admitted in the course of an account of his works which he had drawn up for his son Nicholas, that here he had "gone too far²." The matter was carried to a still further stage. At a visitation held at Canterbury on 28th May 1712 the Vicar-General, by order of the Archbishop, read to Brett the preface from the Book of Common Prayer. "And forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth but doubts may arise etc....the parties that so doubt...shall always resort to the Bishop," and asked him how he could defend the publication of recent sermons³. Brett wrote a reply to the Archbishop in which he contended that the paragraph read to him did not require him to consult the Diocesan either in preaching or publishing sermons, unless he had any doubts concerning the matter. Not having any such doubts, he submitted that he had no occasion to trouble His Grace.

The trend of Brett's opinions during the early years of the century has now been made sufficiently clear. This tendency could be illustrated at great length by references to the various works produced by Brett at this period. It is, however, in no sense necessary, as correct lists of Brett's works have many times been printed. Notwithstanding the growing ill-favour which Brett was bringing upon himself from what was called the "Lambeth interest," he did his utmost to take an active part in all Church matters. At the elections of 1710 and 1713 Brett offered himself as a candidate for Proctor in Convocation, but was defeated on both occasions. In the first election a somewhat bitter dispute arose about the methods adopted by the Archdeacon and his officials, and it is evident that

¹ Brett MSS., vol. I, f. 431.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xv, f. 91.

² *Ibid.* vol. XIII, f. 308.

Brett was keenly disappointed by his defeats. It may be permitted to conjecture whether success in these elections would have prevented the separation from the Church which was now drawing very near. Brett's friendship with the Non-Jurors had become, during the period which has been reviewed in this chapter, more intimate and cordial. On the 4th June 1712 Hickes wrote to Brett:

I give you my most hearty thanks for the favour of your last letter as a testimony of your friendship to me, which I heartily embrace from so worthy a person to whom God has given the spirit of fortitude and humility in defending the truly Ancient and Catholic doctrines with great freedom and all becoming modesty, and in suffering persecution in so doing from a sort of men that I take to be in great part or wholly ignorant of them, with exemplary patience and charity¹.

On 8th December 1712 Roger Laurence wrote in reference to Brett's book against Bingham on "Lay Baptism": "I put it in Dr Hickes' and Mr Spinckes' hands immediately, desiring them to dispatch it quickly²." Archibald Campbell in a letter to Brett on 4th July 1713 rejoiced

to have the approbation of one whose name is so deservedly wellknown in the commonwealth of learning and who has so strongly defended the Primitive Episcopal government of the Church, and has also so justly chastised Mr Bingham for his rash undertaking in defence of Lay Baptism³.

The death of Queen Anne on 1st August 1714 and the accession of George I, made it certain that the oaths would have to be taken again. This prospect had the effect of bringing Brett's tendencies of opinion to a very rapid development for, as will be seen in the continuation of his own account, he had definitely resolved that he could not in conscience take again the oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration. It may be well, before this account is resumed, to give some information concerning one of Brett's latest sermons preached as an incumbent in the diocese of Canterbury. On Wednesday, 30th March 1715, Brett was appointed to preach in Canterbury Cathedral and had intended (according to his own account) to speak of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, but the Vice-Dean objected to the subject. Whereupon Brett selected what was

¹ Brett MSS., vol. 1, f. 468.

² *Ibid.* f. 540.

³ *Ibid.* f. 578.

apparently a very simple text, Prov. xxiii. 17 f., "Let not thine heart envy sinners...for surely there is an end, etc."

In a defence made to the Archbishop, Brett gave an account of what seemed to be a very ordinary discourse. Everyone is aware, however, that political sentiments were often concealed under innocent phrases, and it is not surprising that the highly strung feeling of the day at once interpreted Brett's sermon in a very particular sense, and the Archbishop charged Brett with speaking evil of dignitaries even in very broad language¹.

The publication of Brett's work on *Lutheran Principles* in the previous year may be regarded as another challenge to the authorities in Church and State. The argument of this work may be inferred from Laurence's comments, couched in his usual unrestrained manner.

You have proved that the pretended orders of the foreign reformed bodies are not originally derived from Presbyters but mere Laics who pretended to Divine Inspiration and so were no other than enthusiastic cheats².

It will be agreed that Brett was ready to take the plunge, and the final step may be related in his own words:

But my eyes were at last opened by the late Lord Chief Baron Gilbert³. He was my near relation and would frequently discourse with me upon the subject of Whig and Tory and would often tell me that, if I would be a Whig, he doubted not but he had interests to help me to very great preferment and would certainly do it. He told me that among the Tories I could never hope to make other than a very indifferent figure, Atterbury, Smalridge, Gastrell and Moss and others were such bright men that I could never shine in their company; but the Whigs were not so bright and I might shine among them, and as the preferments were in their hands they would be glad to prefer me. Once as we were discoursing he told me that he could not see how upon my principles I could take the oaths particularly the Oath of Abjuration. I answered that I did not believe the person abjured was King James' son. He laughed at me and told me that was ridiculous, that full proof had been given that he was his son and such that put the matter beyond dispute. This shocked me and I then

¹ Brett MSS., vol. II, ff. 173 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* f. 87.

³ Sir Geoffrey Gilbert (1674-1726), appointed Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer of Ireland 5th July 1715, was a distinguished member of his own profession and is said to have taken up the study of Mathematics as a hobby. It has not been known previously that he had any leanings to theological disputations.

resolved to consider further of the matter. Some time after Dr Sacheverell's affair came on, and when the trial was published I there saw it openly stated "that if they are in the right who assert hereditary right of succession then the Queen is not the Queen and the rightful title is in one on the other side of the water." I then began in good earnest to believe that I had taken oaths which I ought not to have taken. And I then resolved I would take them no more. However, I had yet no scruples concerning the schism in the Church; about continuing to pray for the King in possession nothing yet stuck with me, but the oath of abjuration. And therefore when upon the accession of a new King an Act of Parliament was made requiring all persons to take the oaths again, I resolved to quit my livings rather than again to take that Abjuring Oath. And then also considering further on this matter, I was quickly convinced that on the same principles I ought not to take the other oaths enjoined, nor to pray for that Person as King, whom I could not swear to as such, nor to retain livings which I held by taking such oaths. Hereupon about April 1715 I wrote to Archbishop Tenison to desire he would give me leave to resign my livings. But he very civilly and kindly answered me that he would advise me to consider further and not rashly to do what I might be afterwards sorry for. Accordingly I took his advice and made no resignation...however I left off to officiate in either of them and nevertheless I went to my own parish Church as a Lay Communicant till such time as by order from Bishop Hikes (who had somehow or other been informed of my resolution not to take the oaths), Mr Campbell wrote to me and pressed me earnestly to refrain entirely from all communion with the parish churches, arguing the point of schism. Hereupon I sent to my book-seller for Mr Dodwell's *Case in View* and his *Case in View now in Fact*, which when I had read I found his arguments so weak that I resolved immediately as a sincere penitent to wait on Bishop Hikes and having made a penitential confession to him, he received me into his communion 1st July 1715.

Brett's course of thought and action has now been traced until he arrived at complete communion with the Non-Jurors. There is now appended, by way of comment on the foregoing narrative, some interesting information contained in the correspondence of the period. On the 4th April 1715 Brett made his formal application to the Archbishop to resign his livings as stated above. Tenison's reply on 12th April is worth recording:

I should have been more surprised than I am at this proposition if I had not heard of your late sermon in the Cathedral of Christ

Church, Canterbury, in which is said you made it your business to speak evil of dignitaries even in very broad language. I think it becomes you solemnly to recant, rather than so hastily to offer a resignation. Our law supposes that this may be sometimes done in a hasty fit of discontent and therefore has provided, out of tenderness to men of such tempers, that after they have resigned they may after the space of one fortnight retract their resignation. For my part I should rejoice more at your conversion than at your misfortune. But if you finally insist on your resignation, I shall accept it. Pray reconsider the case and let your second thoughts be communicated to

Your loving diocesan,

THOS. CANTUAR.¹

Some further correspondence passed between Brett and Tenison and on 1st October of the same year Brett wrote a final letter pointing out that his conscience forbade him to retain his livings, that he had not officiated at either of them for some months past and that "on the 23rd January ensuing the livings would become void according to the new Act." Brett concludes with some acknowledgment of the kindnesses received at the hands of his diocesan. This was certainly no more than Tenison's due. If judgment may be made on the evidence in the case of Brett, the disaffected clergy of the diocese of Canterbury had little reason to complain.

One or two letters concerning Brett's "reconciliation" may now be quoted. On 7th June 1715 Brett announced his decision to Archibald Campbell and desired a solemn reconciliation. The letter was written in a very penitential style and contained thanks to Campbell for his efforts in bringing Brett into his present convictions. If possible, Brett would have desired to be excused from a personal visit to Bishop Hicke and asked that

my neighbour, Mr Peck, who has very lately been reconciled by that holy father, may be authorised to reconcile me and *quoscunque alios*, for I hope I may not be the only person to receive this reconciliatory χειροτονία.

Brett's formal application to Hicke is as follows:

Rt Revd Father in Christ.

I beg leave as a humble penitent to desire your fatherly benediction and reconciliation. I have long lived in a communion which I am now fully convinced is schismatical. I would wait on you on my bended knees to beg of you to be admitted into the

¹ Brett MSS., vol. II, f. 173.

Unity of the Church, but that it is a long journey...I beg that you will accept me as a member, and if you judge me worthy as a minister of your flock, it shall be my endeavour to discharge my duty faithfully according to such directions as from time to time I may receive from you¹.

The long journey of sixty miles was, however, accomplished and Hickes received his distinguished convert in person on 1st July 1715, as already stated. The matter was not kept secret and it may be imagined that a very considerable sensation was caused. Charles Wheatly seems to have heard of Brett's intentions before the final step of secession was taken. He wrote on 10th April 1715 expressing concern

that there was so much ground for the rumour spread here about your resigning your livings. If you think it safe (I hope you want no confidence in me) I should be glad to know your reasons wherein the case is so much altered between this government and the last. For I must own to you that I can't see so wide a difference. If my throwing a feather into the balance will turn the scale I shall think it no less satisfaction than honour to have been an instrument of preserving so great a man in the Church².

Sir Nicholas Toke, Brett's father-in-law, wrote a few days later in true paternal style solemnly rebuking his son-in-law for refusing to own King George³.

The Rev. R. Foley, one of Brett's friends in London, wrote on the 2nd July, that he hears his old friend

has left the Church and even joined in the Communion Service with the separatists. I dread above all the melancholy schism which from the bottom of my soul I think you have involved yourself in⁴.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Non-Jurors made no delay in expressing their delight. For instance, Campbell wrote on 10th June 1715: "there is nothing more noble than for a man to acknowledge an error when he becomes sensible of it...Dr Hickes was very ill but the news cheered him up⁵." Roger Laurence wrote in the same strain but with that lack of restraint and want of good taste

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 199; 7th June 1715.

² *Ibid.* vol. II, f. 167.

³ *Ibid.* f. 185. This family difference was never healed. Sir Nicholas Toke was accustomed to use very violent language in describing the character of his distinguished son-in-law.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 211.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 202.

which is to be noted in his writings. He congratulates his friend, "for that at which the angels rejoice in the presence of God...our primus in Ormonde Street vehemently longs to embrace you with the arms of paternal affection." Brett was requested to bring with him his Letters of Orders so "that all may be finished¹." Brett would probably receive with more equanimity a hearty letter of congratulation from the Earl of Winchilsea, whose name will be found as a witness to several of the later consecrations².

After his formal reception by Hickes, Brett states that he returned home and officiated in his own house to a congregation of "about a dozen beside his own family³." It was perhaps only to be expected that the secession of a man of front rank would be taken as an occasion for levelling charges of "Popery." Such charges were actually made and maintained for a period of at least twelve months. The statement that Brett had turned papist was first made in a London journal about the middle of the year 1715, and the report was spread over the kingdom in many newspapers. It was considered necessary that Brett should issue a detailed reply which took the form of a public letter addressed to the Hon. Archibald Campbell, Esq., a fact which caused great offence to some of Brett's old friends in the Church. In his reply Brett solemnly renounced "every article of Popery" and on the 26th May 1716 a letter was received from Dr Clinch⁴ containing reference to a certain Roman priest who bore the suggestive name of Harris, and was said to have received Brett into his communion. Brett made a further and complete answer and the matter then appears to have been allowed to drop.

Thos. Brett has generally been regarded as being in comfortable circumstances and he has been described as wealthy, but this is certainly an exaggeration. Some particulars of his financial position are given in a letter addressed to Archbishop Sharp in 1711. His estate was worth £400 or £500 in possession or reversion. But £200 was his mother's jointure. There was an incumbrance of considerable amount upon the remainder so that Brett declared, "there is little that I may call my own." There is evidence that he was

¹ Brett MSS., vol. II, f. 205.

² *Ibid.* f. 213.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XIX, f. 33.

⁴ Dr Clinch married a daughter of Thomas Wagstaffe, the elder, and had a profound admiration for the younger Wagstaffe who will shortly appear in these pages.

frequently very short of ready money and in his later years was much embarrassed, largely on account of family troubles.

Brett was not left long to minister to his little congregation as a simple priest. On the 15th December 1715 Bishop George Hickes died. He was buried in the churchyard of St Margaret's, Westminster, and his grave was the goal of Non-Juror pilgrims for many subsequent years¹. The news was sent to Brett by Bishop Campbell in a letter dated 5th January 1715/16, written in terms which sufficiently indicate the necessity which now arose.

I need not tell you that I have lost my good neighbour to my great sorrow, but this has a tale. Some friends of yours desire you earnestly to come to town as soon as you can possibly and as privately. Pray do not fail for there is an affair of great consequence depends upon your coming.

A letter of the same date, written in similarly restrained terms, is preserved under the signature of "R. Joy," which was the pseudonym which Roger Laurence found it convenient to assume at this period². The meaning of the letters will be perfectly clear. They refer to the necessity for continuing the succession, and the story may be told once more in Brett's own words:

Bishop Hickes dying in December 1715, the three last named bishops (viz. Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes) thought proper to add two more to their number.

HENRY GANDY, M.A., was consecrated in his own chapel or oratory in Scroops Court in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn, on St Paul's Day, 25th January 1715/16, by Jeremiah Collier, Samuel Hawes, and Nathaniel Spinckes, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar, in the presence of Francis Peck and Roger Laurence, presbyters; Thomas Bowdler, Esq., and Thomas Martyn, Gent.

THOMAS BRETT, LL.D., was consecrated by the same bishops at the same time and place³.

It may be interesting to note that information was recorded by Thomas Brett as to the method by which Mr Collier celebrated the Eucharist at this consecration.

He, as he placed the Elements on the Table, put Water to the Wine, in the Eucharistic Cup...he omitted the words "Militant

¹ See Bp Forbes' Diary (College Papers, f. 8, p. 897), Thursday, 4th October 1764. "In the burying ground of Westminster Abbey (*sic*) I visited the sepulchre of the most learned and worthy Bishop George Hickes."

² Brett MSS., vol. II, ff. 247 and 250.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XIX, ff. 101 *et seq.*

here on earth," and said the prayer of Oblation "O Lord and Heavenly Father etc." immediately after the Words of Institution and before any distribution. Neither did any of his colleagues or other brethren then present find any fault with his so doing, or say that he ought not to have administered the Eucharist in that manner¹.

The five bishops who now ruled over the small communion of Non-Jurors were not destined to remain long in accord with each other, but before any actual schism took place a remarkable series of negotiations was commenced by the entire college, which at the risk of breach of chronological order may receive notice in this place. The story of the proposals made by the Non-Jurors to the Eastern Patriarchs has been told with great completeness by Mr Lathbury. In more modern times an account of the same negotiations was given by the Rev. George Williams in his *Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century being the Correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Non-Juring Bishops* (London, 1868). Reference may be made to a paper by the late Bishop Dowden in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (1, 562-568). This paper was followed by a full account written by Father Louis Petit, Superior of the Augustins of the Assumption, Constantinople, in the new edition of Mansi's *Concilia* (Tom. xxxvii, 1905, coll. 369-624).

For the purpose of this book a very brief summary must suffice. The original papers are now in the Edinburgh collection. A copy was made by Bishop Forbes who added some useful notes from which the following quotation is taken.

Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, was sent in 1712 by Samuel, patriarch of Alexandria, from Grand Cairo in Egypt to represent to the Protestant Princes and States in Europe the truly deplorable circumstances of the Greek Church under the severe tyranny and oppression of the Turks and to solicit a sum of money particularly for the patriarchal see of Alexandria.

Archibald Campbell interested himself greatly in the matter and persuaded Collier and Spinckes to join in the preparation of a proposal for a Concordat, which was entrusted to Arsenius for transmission to Russia. Peter the Great forwarded the proposal to the Eastern Patriarchs and a long correspondence followed, but the

¹ The information as to Collier's "use" is derived from Dr Brett's MS. account of the Non-Jurors' controversy, p. 2.

death of Peter in 1725 brought the negotiations to an end. Among other extraordinary details there may be noted the proposal that Jerusalem should be regarded as the Mother See, thus altering the order of the patriarchal thrones, and the establishment of a Church in London to be called *Concordia* and to be under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria. The Non-Juror bishops showed in their correspondence a strong reluctance to "go behind" the English Reformation Settlement, and were obviously very ill at ease in dealing with the Orthodox belief on such subjects as Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints. With regard to the nature of the worship due to Our Lady the patriarchs replied with some sympathy but with a possible touch of ridicule. "It is not to be wondered at for being born and bred in the parts of the Luther-Calvinists and possessed with their prejudices, they tenaciously adhere to them like ivy to a tree." The patriarchs endeavoured, but to no purpose, to explain to the Non-Jurors the difference between *Latria* and *Dulia* and sought to allay their suspicions by quoting the text, "they were in great fear where no fear was."

The fact that the Non-Jurors' proposals were written in Greek by Bishop Spinckes is worthy of note. It is difficult to reconcile Spinckes' attitude with regard to the proposed Concordat with his unyielding opposition to any alterations whatever in the Book of Common Prayer¹. There is preserved among the Brett MSS. a letter on this subject which has not been previously printed. It was written by Thomas Brett to his friend, George Smith, on the 30th April 1730, and together with two others of lesser importance form the special contribution which is now made to this subject.

THOS. BRETT to GEORGE SMITH

And now, dear Sir, I will proceed to another subject and inform you of a proposal for an Union with the Greek Church. In July 1716 when Mr Collier, Mr Spinckes, Mr Campbell and I met at Mr Gandy's, Mr Campbell said he had discoursed with the Archbishop of Thebais, then in London, concerning an Union between our Church and the Greeks and believed the matter not to be impracticable. I soon went out of town and Mr Gandy did not care to meddle with it, but Mr Collier, Mr Spinckes, and

¹ Bishop Forbes mentions a report that Rattray of Craighall assisted Spinckes in this work. In the opinion of the present writer the apparent change of face on the part of Spinckes was due to the unmannerly methods adopted by his opponents.

Mr Campbell joined in it and drew up certain propositions (among which was one to restore the first liturgy of Edw. VI), upon which they were willing to unite. And Mr Spinckes (as Mr Campbell informed me) put the proposals into Greek. And they went together and delivered them to the Archbishop of Thebais who carried them to Muscovy and engaged the Czar in the affair and they were encouraged to write to His Majesty on that occasion who heartily supported the matter and sent the proposals to the patriarch of Alexandria to be communicated to the four Eastern Patriarchs. Accordingly they were so communicated. And a very kind affectionate answer was returned by a synod held in the great Church of Christ at Constantinople April 12th 1718 under Jeremias, patriarch of Constantinople, Samuel of Alexandria, Chrysanthus of Jerusalem and several metropolitans. This answer we received not till November 1721. But upon the breach between Mr Collier and Mr Spinckes etc., Mr Sp. would no further concern himself in this affair. So we that held with Mr Collier joined with him in a reply to the patriarchs' answer which we subscribed May 29th, 1722. We had a rejoinder to this reply dated Constantinople September 1723. Besides these papers several letters passed between us and the Archbishop of Thebais, the Russian synod, the great Chancellor of Russia and others. And the Czar, by his great Chancellor, sent to us to send over two persons not to conclude anything, but only to debate our differences with such as we should appoint, offering to bear the charges of the persons we should send¹. But the Czar died, which put an end to this whole affair. We were surprised soon after with a pamphlet written by Mr Lewis, of Margate, in this diocese, an old opponent of mine, against Mr Collier in vindication of Bp Burnett. For by several passages in the pamphlet we found that Mr L. had seen what had passed between us and the Eastern Patriarchs, which we could not imagine how he came by, and he made several scurrilous reflections on Mr Collier and me on that occasion. Soon after we understood that the papers we had sent to Constantinople were now at Lambeth. It seems the patriarch of Constantinople was desirous to know who they were who called themselves "The Orthodox and Catholic Remnant of the British Churches," which was the title those took who sent the proposals. And understanding that there was an English Clergyman in Constantinople, Chaplain to the factory, he sent for him and gave him the papers and he sent them to the Archbishop of Canterbury at whose house

¹ It appears from a letter of Brett to Campbell, 6th February 1724/25, that Jebb was chosen as one of the representatives to the Russian Church, and failing him Brett was prepared to undertake the journey himself. See College Papers, f. 1, Letters of Brett to Campbell, p. 176.

Mr Lewis had sight of them. But I believe His Grace was not pleased with Mr L.'s scurrilous treatment of Mr Collier on the occasion and obliged him to suppress his pamphlet,...I had a letter not long since from Dr Jebb who lives at Stratford by Bow, who sent me word that making a visit to his neighbour, Mr Chishul¹, he was surprised to see our Constantinople papers before him. Mr C., it seems, is writing an account of the Greek Church, and he designs to put our papers or an abstract of them into that account.

Brett gives a further note as a postscript:

Had not the Czar died before we could send two persons to debate matters before him and his Council, I know not how far we might have proceeded towards an Union with that part of the Greek Church which is settled in Russia. The Russian synod wrote thus to us. "Making no doubt that these designs of yours spring not from any earthly root, but spring from an heavenly seed, we faithfully promise our best assistance to further this your, nay our also, so holy negotiation. And now, what is of great moment in this case, we have acquainted His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, with your proceedings which both you desired and we also thought ourselves obliged to. The most potent prince received them with a very serene countenance, and as we believe esteemed this as one of his just consolations after an happy but laborious expedition. What his opinion is concerning this affair we will ingenuously tell you. He thinks it proper to send two of yours to have a friendly conference in the name and spirit of Christ with two that are to be taken out of our brethren. Hereby the opinions, arguments and persuasions of each party may be more sincerely produced, more clearly understood, and it may be more easily known what may be yielded and given up by one to the other, what on the other side may and ought for conscience sake to be absolutely denied²."

The letter from Dr Jebb mentioned by Brett in the foregoing account was written on 17th November 1729 and is quoted in part.

I lately made a visit to my very learned and worthy neighbour, Mr Chishul, and was surprised to see in his hands copies of our Greek papers, which had been transmitted to him from Constantinople. He designs with the leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury to publish them at the end of a large work he is preparing upon the subject of the Greek Church, if he lives to

¹ Edmund Chishull (1671-1731) was instituted on 1st September 1708 to the Vicarage of Walthamstow, Essex.

² Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, ff. 85 *et seq.*

finish it. I suppose you know he passed many years in the East as Chaplain to the factory at Smyrna¹.

Finally there is a letter from Collier to Brett written 29th April 1725:

Mr Cassano is ready to embark for Petersburg to feel the pulse of that court with relation to the union with the Greek Church and whether any persons from hence will be welcome there next summer. I confess by the patriarchs' answer I despair².

It was not given to Collier to foresee the cordial relations existing between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches at the present time.

The number of clergymen who followed Brett in his course of secession was considerable³. The Abjuration Oath of 1701, and the necessity imposed upon the clergy for its renewal in 1715, indicate a policy which was certainly not justified by its results. It is probable that Brett and others would not have entered upon the path which led to separation from the Church if the Government had been content to allow the flames of expiring controversies to die down. The name of Non-Abjurer is sometimes applied to those who carried their principles to the logical extreme.

There is no necessity to repeat the details of the rising of 1715. The immediate effect upon the Non-Jurors in London appears to have been to develop "a certain liveliness" in the conduct of Divine Worship in the very few chapels which might be considered to be "public⁴." It may, however, be interesting to note that on the occasion of the execution of William Paul and John Hall, two of the sufferers in the rebellion, the prisoners were attended to the scaffold by Francis Peck and the dying speeches read on that occasion were written by Thomas Deacon⁵. These characters will appear in the next chapter as ardent if not discreet advocates of the Usages in the controversy which is now to be related.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 461.

² *Ibid.* vol. VI, f. 1.

³ See list in Appendix I.

⁴ See Appendix II, p. 333.

⁵ See the present writer's *Biography of Thomas Deacon* (Manchester University Press, 1911), pp. 18-20.

THE USAGES CONTROVERSY

COLLIER AS PRIMUS—NEW ORDINATIONS—THE “USAGES”
CONTROVERSY — COMPLETE LIST OF THE PAMPHLETS

THE title of Primus of the little Church of the Non-Jurors, which had been borne for some years by Bishop Hickes, now naturally devolved on Jeremy Collier, whose years and standing marked him as fitted to be considered *primus inter pares*. It appears from Brett's MS. account that at the time of Bishop Hickes' death,

Mr Collier was the only one who at that time acted as a Bishop amongst the Non-Jurors, it being thought expedient that the others should conceal their character even from their own people¹.

The various Non-Abjuring clergy who were “received into communion” after the accession of George I were, as matter of fact, directed to resort to Bishop Collier, and it will be seen that in the ordinations which took place at this period Collier was the only acting bishop. In the year 1716, however, the title of Primus was bestowed upon Collier with some formality. The proposal was made by Thomas Brett, who gives the following account to a correspondent:

When we met at Mr Gandy's on 23rd July 1716 I myself made a proposal that, forasmuch as it was not then thought convenient that every man's character should be publicly known, it might be proper for us to choose one with the title of Primus, to whom the clergy might apply as there should be occasion and who might call us together, when it was proper for us to meet and consult on any emergency, and to preside at such meetings. Which proposal was received unanimously and without any opposition and Mr C. was desired to take the chair with that title which for some time he declined and would have put it on some other person and did not accept of it without much intreaty—he did not assume the name of Primus nor was it put upon him by his flatterers but fairly conferred on him by his colleagues, even without his own seeking.

Brett proceeds to say that in his opinion an episcopal body without a Primus is like “a body without a head².”

There were two ominous features about this appointment. The occasion formed the commencement of a period of irreconcilable

¹ Brett's MS. History of the Non-Jurors' Controversy, p. 6.

² Brett MSS., vol. xviii, f. 52. Brett to Doughty, 9th December 1726.

strife and the term *Primus* was interpreted in very different ways. Those who differed from Collier in the controversy were naturally disposed to reduce the position of the *Primus* to a mere permanent chairman. One of Collier's strongest opponents, Thomas Bell, on being urged by Brett to respect the authority of the *Primus*, somewhat rudely replied that he knew no difference between *Primus* and *Ultimus*, and the author of *Mr Collier's Desertion Discussed* plainly hints at some personal ambition on the part of Collier. "It is hard to be head of a party and be humble." There is evidence that Collier sincerely believed in the importance of his position, but the man who regarded the authority of the *Primus* with most reverence was undoubtedly Thomas Brett, who remained perfectly loyal to Collier to the end, and did not hesitate to sacrifice his own convictions if they appeared to clash with the authority of his *Primus*.

A very important event occurred in the life of Collier some time after the death of Bishop Hikes. Collier married, as his second wife¹, Mrs Cecilia Deacon, widow of William Deacon of Stepney, a sea-captain, and mother of Thomas Deacon, who occupies a conspicuous place in the story of the later Non-Jurors. This information is to be found in Hearne's diary under the date of 4 May 1725:

I saw Mr Richard Russell, M.A., formerly of University College, afterwards preferred to a living in the country which he lost upon account of the oaths, and now drives a farm to support himself, his wife and four children. Mr Russell told me that Mr Jeremy Collier is very poor in his old age, having married an odd wife, mother of Mr Thomas Deacon, which Mr Thomas Deacon from following Divinity now practises Physick etc.²

The date of the second marriage is not known. The evidence of the Brett MSS. points to the year 1716 and some important results certainly followed from it. The present writer has referred elsewhere³ to the intimate relations existing between Bishop Hikes and Mrs Deacon and her son, and there is here quoted a letter

¹ The authority for the first marriage is in a letter of Campbell to Brett, 30th April 1726, at the time of Collier's death. "I take it ill that I was not apprized of it that I might have attended him to his grave as I did his first wife." Collier left no descendants. Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 127.

² Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. VIII, p. 364.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 14.

written by Thomas Deacon to Hearne on the 28th June 1715 from Hickes' house in Ormond Street:

I do not know whether you remember me by name, but I had the honour to be acquainted with you a little when I was at Oxford at Mr Parker's above three years ago and I have now lived with Dean Hickes above these two years¹.

Mrs Cecilia Collier was a lady of great force of character, and if Archibald Campbell's testimony may be accepted she not only ruled her husband but also aspired to "manage" the little church over which he presided. It would certainly appear that the lady exercised influence behind the scenes and here may be found some explanation of the extremely rapid rise of Thomas Deacon to influence in the Non-Jurors' communion.

The "Usages" controversy cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the principal combatants. Not a few of these came from the rank and file of the movement and some were young in years and experience, a fact which was the cause of no small offence to original Non-Jurors who had now spent nearly thirty years in the wilderness. Ordinations among the Non-Jurors were always rare events and in later years they ceased altogether, but some notable names are to be found among the records made by Rawlinson in the early years of George I, among whom special mention may be made of four young men who would have adorned the Ministry of the Church in any age, RICHARD RAWLINSON, M.A. (1690-1755), THOMAS WAGSTAFFE (1692-1770), SAMUEL JEBB, B.A. (1694-1772), and THOMAS DEACON (1697-1753), who were all admitted to Holy Orders in the years 1716 and 1717. Two other names should also receive mention among the recruits to the ministry of the small Non-Jurors' Church at this period, JOHN LINDSAY, born 1686, and THOMAS RUTTER (d. about 1725), who played parts of minor importance in the later developments of the movement².

It is now possible to enter upon the task of relating the series of events which led up to the division of the Non-Jurors into two separate and hostile camps. A considerable quantity of new information is available, partly taken from the Brett MSS., but very important additions to the story owe their origin to the various MSS. which are now under the care of the Scottish bishops. It

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. v, p. 71.

² See Biographical List in Appendix I.

is well known that as a matter of fact the dispute turned upon the Form by which the Eucharist was to be celebrated, but it should be noted that there was a further question upon which the Non-Jurors were not by any means agreed. This secondary point of difference arose on the question of the relations between the Non-Jurors and the members of the "regnant" Church. Nicholas Brett in his *Considerations*, written sixty years after the events, pointed out that there were at least four differing points of view among the Non-Jurors. There were those who emphasized the fact that a schism was made by the intrusion of bishops into full sees as well as by "immorality" of prayers. Others stressed the fact of spiritual intrusion only, and thought little of the objectionable prayers. Others, again, founded their whole objection to the National Church upon the new State prayers; while a fourth section neglected both considerations and communicated with the "public" when convenient. A few instances may be given of the cleavage which was developing among the Non-Jurors on this particular question. Laurence, writing to Brett on 15th August 1717, was very greatly concerned for what he considered to be "sins of the time." Even bishops who had recently repented of schism baptised children of schismatics and admitted schismatics as godparents¹. Further, Timothy Mawman of Stockton, writing on 10th January 1726/27, informed Brett of a correspondence he had with Mr Collier in 1720, in which Collier told him that Mr Gandy and Mr Hawes were accustomed to admit well-known members of the complying Church to their communion and that Mr Spinckes did not defend this but kept with those who do. Collier gave his opinion to Mawman that "this matter alone would have meant separation²."

Collier, in a letter addressed to Bishop Rose of Edinburgh in the summer of 1718 gave a more specific instance. "Mr Gandy having baptised a child in a schismatic congregation defended the practice and was abetted by Mr Hawes, and Mr Spinckes, though he dislikes this latitude, keeps with them³." It is evident that Collier was seriously disturbed by this latitude on the part of some of his old friends. In Brett's MS. history of the Non-Jurors,

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 63.

² *Ibid.* vol. VI, f. 261.

³ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1182. The date of this action by Gandy was immediately before the publication of the "Reasons," etc., in the autumn of 1717.

mention is made of the fact that Dr Marshall in his *Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, etc.* (published in 1717) twitted the Non-Jurors with inconsistency in admitting Jurors to communion. Mrs Collier made a marginal note opposite this passage to the effect that "Mr Collier said he never did this and was sorry for those who did not think further."

The main cause of the impending separation is, however, more important, and it is now proposed to relate the story at length. On the 26th June 1716 a petition was addressed to the "Catholic Bishops of the Church of England" which was signed by a number of presbyters and others. Information on this subject is obtained from Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation, etc.* (published in 1732) and from Rawlinson MSS. D. 1254, in which is recorded a verbatim copy of the petition which may be summarized as follows: The petitioners ask that the clamours of their enemies, both among Roman and schismatical churches, may be stopped by the removal of certain defects, which are drawn up under four heads. (1) The want of four things: the Oblation and Invocation in the celebration of the Eucharist, prayer for the faithful departed, and the mixture of water with the wine used in that Sacrament. (2) The great lack of uniformity in public worship. (3) The great variety of attitude towards the established Church. (4) The want of discipline, or any scheme of repentance. On all these points the petitioners desired that authoritative reform might be made. The tone of the petition certainly implied some censure on those who did not agree with its contents, but so stout an opponent as Thomas Bell admitted that the word "essential," which was of such importance in the later controversy, was not then used¹. The writer of the MS. from which the foregoing summary has been taken, who was probably Henry Gandy, adds the following note:

The original was drawn up by the advice of Bishop A. Campbell and approved by him and the *Primus Episcopus* Mr Jer. Collier and presented to all the bishops on the day it bears date by R. Laurence, M.A., who was ordered by the Primus to present it.

The former portion of this statement relating to the drawing up of the petition may be correct, although a slightly different account is given by Thomas Brett in his MS. After pointing out in some

¹ Rawlinson MSS. D. 845, p. 105.

detail that Mr Collier had some years previously written in defence of the Usages in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Brett proceeds:

Mr Collier judged he had now a fair opportunity of introducing these Usages, which he looked upon as necessary, into general practice among those under his charge. And therefore encouraged some presbyter no less zealous for these practices than himself to draw up and sign a petition to himself and the other Non-Juring bishops¹.

The names of those who signed the petition are given in both the records from which this account is taken, but the two lists do not exactly tally. Gandy gives the following names: H. Doughty, W. Scott, M. Earberry, T. Deacon, F. Peck, Charles Driver, T. Wagstaffe, Roger Laurence, John Rutter, Sam. Jebb, George James, W. Law².

Laurence omits his own name from the list and substitutes W. Snatt for W. Scott, and Dr Francis Lee for W. Law³.

The inclusion of three names at least in the above list will excite some surprise. Doughty, Scott, and Earberry were certainly not in sympathy with the objects of the petition. Their names are marked with a "X" in Gandy's list. Thomas Bell supplies the information that three of the presbyters recanted their signatures, and the reference is, without doubt, to the three men who have just been named⁴.

The question of the underlying motives and aims of the promoters of this petition should receive careful attention. There has been a considerable amount of loose and inexact writing on the subject. The statement has been made and often repeated that the Usagers desired to revive the use of the first liturgy of Edward VI, and it has also been taken for granted that Bishop Hicke was accustomed to use this liturgy in his oratory in Scroop's Court. Both these statements require some qualification. It is true that many Non-Jurors had a great reverence for the first English Liturgy,

¹ Brett's MS. History, p. 12.

² There is nothing improbable in the alleged signature by Law. George Smith quoted in 1731 some words in a letter received by him from Law. "I am and always was entirely with our separated brethren as to the contested points." Brett MSS., vol. viii, f. 327.

³ Laurence prints these names with the first and last letters only, for obvious reasons. The disguise was very thin, and the interpretation given above may be accepted as correct.

⁴ Rawlinson MSS. D. 845, p. 105. Bell's account of 27th July 1716.

principally on the ground that it was composed before the introduction of any foreign influences as represented by the names of Bucer, Martyr, Fagius and others. The Usagers who took a public part in the controversy mentioned the names of these foreigners in terms of varying condemnation¹. It may be said, however, that as the liturgical knowledge of the Non-Jurors increased there was also developed a conviction that Edward VI's first Liturgy was not to be regarded as the final standard.

Where both these (that is, the first and second English liturgies) have departed from the practice of the Church, there we thought it necessary to follow the much older liturgy than either of them.

So wrote Dr Brett in his *Liturgies*. It was largely under his influence that the attention of the Non-Jurors was directed to what came to be regarded as the true standard. The Clementine Liturgy (so called) which is to be found in the 8th book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* "comes to us (in the words of Bishop Dowden) tainted by suspicion—it should be discarded as a model to be followed²." It must, however, be remembered that scholars of the rank of Hickes, Johnson and Brett had persuaded themselves and a large proportion of their adherents that the Clementine Liturgy did possess apostolic authority. It is true that some of their followers, notably Thomas Wagstaffe, lived long enough to modify this excessive devotion to an extract from an apocryphal work, and even to form a strikingly modern estimate of its value, but at the period under review, few people were prepared to dispute the claims which were made on behalf of this liturgy and were summarized a few years later in Brett's *Dissertation on Ancient Liturgies*. The forms of Oblation and Invocation contained in this liturgy are so frequently quoted by those who took part in the disputes that it is thought well to print this portion of the liturgy in full. It is, of course, to be understood that the passage follows immediately upon the Recital of the Institution

¹ Brett regrets that "Cranmer and his Colleagues sent into foreign parts for Bucer, etc., to interpret the Scriptures to our Universities according to their modern notions, and interpretations were pressed upon by them to alter the Liturgy and make it less agreeable to the consentient tradition of the Church and more agreeable to their modern doctrines and interpretations of Scripture." See *Liturgies*.

² Annotated Scottish Communion Office (1922 Edition), p. 13.

THE OBLATION AND INVOCATION IN THE CLEMENTINE LITURGY

Wherefore having in remembrance His Passion, Death, and Resurrection from the Dead; His Ascension into Heaven, and second coming with glory and great power to judge the quick and the dead and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him that Thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before Thee. And we beseech Thee to look favourably on these Thy Gifts, which are here set before Thee, O Thou Self-Sufficient God. And do Thou accept them to the honour of Thy Christ; and send down Thy Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Passion of our Lord Jesus upon this sacrifice that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ; that they who are partakers thereof may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life; Thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled unto them through the merits and mediation of Thy Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth, etc.

No claim is made in these pages to write with any authority on the subject of Liturgiology, but even the "plain" man can see that the difference between the first English Liturgy and the Clementine is very marked. It has frequently been pointed out that Edward VI's first Liturgy was really a translation into English of the Liturgy in common use in the Western Church. Brett's expressed opinion was that it came "too near to the Canon of the Mass." It is true that the prayer *Quam Oblationem* was in some sort expanded by Cranmer so as to contain a direct Invocation of the Holy Ghost, but the prayer occurred before the Consecration, and it may be fairly contended that according to this liturgy the Consecration of the Elements was effected by the Recital of the Words of Institution. On the other hand, the Clementine Liturgy preserved what is called the "Eastern" order of (1) Words of Institution, (2) Solemn Oblation, (3) Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the Consecration is regarded as being effected more particularly by the Invocation. It is true that liturgical scholars of the present day are not prepared to admit that the Invocation is primitive in the exact sense of the term. It is sufficient, however, at this stage, to make clear the belief which was held by the Non-Jurors on this subject¹.

¹ See Letter from Campbell to Leslie, 12th November 1717 (Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 267). "The words of Institution are not so properly Words of

There remains to be considered the practice of Bishop Hicke, to which all parties in the dispute from time to time made appeal. The evidence available does not support the view that Hicke frequently used the first Liturgy of Edward VI. There is quoted on this point a letter from Thomas Deacon, who had exceptional opportunities of observing Hicke's practice.

Bishop Hicke did use the first Liturgy of King Edw. VI when he administered to Mr Grabe on his death-bed. It is probable also that he might order it to be used on particular occasions, but I cannot say it was done to my knowledge...the manner of administration in his house was this. He generally prepared the elements himself before Mr Spinckes came and he always mix't the cup. Mr Spinckes knew it was mixed, offered it mixed, and received it mixed. I say, offered it mixed, because he always said the Prayer of Oblation immediately afterward the Words of Institution. These were the only alterations there were¹.

There is further evidence that Hicke occasionally used the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 if persons of that nationality were present. Further, Thomas Brett states that after his reception he was instructed by Bishop Hicke always to mix the cup and to say openly the prayers of Oblation and Invocation from the Clementine Liturgy which he had been accustomed to say secretly from the year 1709. Brett claimed that he was the first man in England to revive the Clementine prayers.

Bishop Hicke did not practise exact conformity, either in his own use, or in the instructions which he gave to persons who applied to him. Among the "College" Papers there is reference to a Book of Common Prayer with alterations marked in the handwriting of Thomas Bowdler, Senr, showing various alterations by Dr Hicke, and in the same connection there is to be found a letter of Nicholas Brett which throws some light on this subject.

Mr Redmayne, brother to a bookseller, Sir Robert's chaplain and Mr Cotton's tutor, was admitted into Orders by Dr H. Sir Robert was a witness and says the instructions were to leave out the words Militant etc. and a recommendation to use the Post

Consecration as of authority or giving power to consecrate." See also Brett's *Liturgies*, p. 354. "Without a prayer to this effect (that is, of Invocation) I cannot believe the Elements to be consecrated." It is impossible to believe that men who held these views would be satisfied with the first Liturgy of Edward VI.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 151. Thomas Deacon to Dr Brett, 17th November 1717.

Communion Prayer before the Distribution...he added that he looked upon the placing of it after, as an error of the press, or an oversight of the revisers. Sir Robert told Nicholas Brett this by word of mouth 6th November 1745¹.

The main point to be observed concerning the practice of Bishop Hickee is that he always used a prayer of Oblation immediately after the Recital of the Institution, and in his later years at least, a more or less full form of Invocation. This is a more accurate statement than the one which is commonly made as to the frequent use of the first English Liturgy².

The question of the reception which the petition received at the hands of the bishops may now be considered. There is available an amount of information from which a complete account on the matter is for the first time supplied³.

The Non-Juror bishops with some of their clergy had been in the habit of meeting once a week at the Essex Coffee House, "where a company of us used to have a room for ourselves." Archibald Campbell had on these occasions urged the necessity of reviving the first English Liturgy. There seems to be no reason to doubt the statement made by the Non-Usagers that Campbell was particularly concerned with the beginning of the proposals to alter the services of the Church. At last a "set" meeting was arranged. Gandy mentions that at noon on 23rd July 1716 he was called upon by R. Laurence, who requested that the bishops might meet at his house that afternoon, to which Gandy assented. There were present at the meeting: Collier, Spinckes, Gandy and Brett (*i.e.* all the English bishops but S. Hawes, who was unwell), together with the two Scottish bishops Campbell and Gadderar. It is probable that a few presbyters were also present. It is tolerably certain that Collier was elected Primus on this occasion and that the Greek negotiations were begun. Campbell constituted himself

¹ College Papers (Quarto Vol. p. 15). N. Brett to R. Lyon, 10th November 1745.

² A marginal note made by Mrs Collier in Brett's MS. states that Mr Collier had for many years been of Bishop Hickee's mind and had persuaded Bishop H. to the necessity of restoring "these four things."

³ The references for this part of the subject are as follows: Rawlinson MSS. (lettered H. Gandy), D. 847 *et seq.*; Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 329 and vol. xviii, f. 101, which record two brief accounts by Brett; Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 268, Campbell to Bishop Rose, 3rd March 1717/18; No. 1182, Collier to Rose, no date (probably the summer of 1718); No. 1184, Bishop Spinckes to Rose, 15th September 1718.

clerk to the Synod and took notes of the proceedings. These "minutes" were the cause of bitter recrimination in the course of the controversy. They were not accepted by any gathering and were never signed by anyone. According to statements made by Collier and Campbell they were mislaid and forgotten by both of them, but were discovered early in the year 1718 (*i.e.* eighteen months after the original date) and a copy of them was sent by Campbell to Bishop Rose on the 3rd March 1717/18. According to this paper, the following points were agreed upon *nemine contradicente*.

- (1) That the first in commission be constantly president.
- (2) That in all congregations where they can bear it, and until Edward VI's first Liturgy with alterations may be printed, a certain form of Invocation of the Holy Ghost may be used in the Communion Service.
- (3) That anointing of the sick may be used when desired.
- (4) That in the prayer for the Church the words Militant here on earth may be omitted.
- (5) That there be seven presbyters to attend their bishops at all Synods when ordered.

The genuineness of this document was solemnly attested by Bishops Collier and Gadderar in letters addressed to Bishop Rose. It is therefore impossible to dismiss the matter as a flight of imagination on the part of Campbell. There is, as a matter of fact, some corroboration of Campbell's account to be found in one or two letters of Thomas Brett, who was impressed by the fact that the six bishops who met at Mr Gandy's "seemed agreed as to the Usages and were willing to have them practised but would not enjoin them until such time as they were approved and received by the people." The last clause in Campbell's "minutes," relating to the presence of the seven presbyters at all future Synods, was certainly a misrepresentation, whether intentional or otherwise. The accounts given by Brett, Spinckes and Gandy all agree that this decision simply referred to the adjournment of the meeting to a time and place suitable for the attendance of Bishop Hawes, and that at this meeting each of the seven bishops was to bring a presbyter to attend him.

The comments of Spinckes and Gandy on this subject are cautiously worded. They did not deny that a certain amount of

connivance of the disputed points was tacitly yielded, but they emphasized the fact that the whole series of questions was left over for the decision of the meeting at which the presbyters were to be represented. These two bishops do not appear at this period to have expressed any strong antipathy to the Usages. It is, indeed, barely conceivable that Spinckes, in particular, could have adopted an unyielding attitude at the very time when he consented to take a leading part in the Greek negotiations. He was probably not aware of the very strong feeling of opposition to the introduction of the Usages which was to be manifested at the adjourned meeting which was held four days later.

Bishop Hawes recorded some interesting particulars about the second meeting:

About the 24th or 25th July 1716 Mr Archibald Campbell came to me at my house and desired me to meet some of our brethren on the 27th following, at the St Alban's Tavern, which place he said they had pitched upon as being near me, in consideration of my weakness, being not well. He desired me also to carry with me some one of our brethren, but he gave me not the least hint of any business to be done, any point to be treated of, any matter to be considered, nor did I think of anything more than, as friends, we should pass an hour or two in conversation.

The meeting was duly held at the appointed time and place. Campbell was the only absentee among the bishops, and the presbyters who attended were: Slaughter, Leak, Howell, Doughty, Bell, Peck, and Thomas Hall¹. Mr Collier took the chair, and the proceedings would be described in modern phrase as "stormy" throughout. The petition was read and a proposal was made that it should be adopted and signed. Thomas Bell at once raised two points which caused some confusion. He objected to Gadderar as a "foreigner," to which the chairman replied that bishops of another church could not vote or determine, but might be allowed to speak. Further, Bell demanded to know what the petitioners really meant by "primitive" practices and where they would stop in their restorations. Would they, for instance, authorize Infant Communion. Mr Collier then proposed the restoration of the first English Liturgy, or at least the authorization of the four Usages.

¹ Nothing is known of Slaughter beyond the fact that he lived in the country fifty miles from London and was "pitched upon" as a representative on this occasion as being in town on one of his rare visits.

In reply to this Bishop Hawes made a statement which is recorded in the Gandy MSS.:

I said for my part I thought these points of too great importance to be so hastily concluded. Moreover, I did not think that this was a time for us to attempt any alterations at all, upon which Dr Brett returned upon me with some warmth that this was like Tom Tenison, not a time to do anything and so there never would be a time.

There followed a long discussion about prayers for the dead. Brett seemed very uneasy at the opposition, which was evidently not expected by him. He desired to know why he had been brought there and stated that he would not come again. Thomas Bell added fuel to the flames by complaining of

the young men just admitted who did so soon fly in the face of the Church and her faithful sons who for their firm adherence to her had not only suffered the loss of all they had in the world, but a persecution of 26 years.

When the matter was put to the vote Collier, Brett and Peck alone voted for the alterations, Gadderar was neutral, and all the others were against. The Chairman then remarked that everyone must now do as they pleased, to which Bell made a final protest and the Conference broke up abruptly.

The issue was now joined and the Non-Juror bishops in England never met again as one body. The controversy did not at first assume a pronounced form, but as is usual in such matters it gathered force as it rolled along. A very few words of definition will here suffice as to the meaning of the term Usages. The Usages were four in number. (1) A definitely expressed Oblation of the Elements in the Eucharist to God the Father. (2) A direct Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements that they might be made the Body and Blood of Christ. (3) Such alterations in title and expression in the prayer for the Church or the great Intercession as would include the departed as well as the living. (4) The use of the mixed chalice. It has been stated that the difference between the two sides was not so much as to the truth expressed by these Usages, but as to the expediency of introducing them at this particular time, but it cannot be denied that there was a party among the Non-Jurors who were definitely opposed to the Usages in themselves, or as Brett put it, "they not only denied the expediency

of admitting any of these matters at the time but even disputed their Catholicism and Orthodoxy." The Usages could hardly be placed upon one common level. No one seriously attacked the Oblation, and the Invocation, though it was, in all probability, quite unfamiliar to the rank and file of the Non-Jurors, did not arouse much opposition, but the two remaining points were the cause of bitter dispute which was very largely conducted on what may be called "No Popery" lines. It might be expected that prayer for the departed would arouse latent prejudices, but it is not so evident why the mixed chalice should have been the cause of bitter invective. Brett had a great conviction that the two first Usages were essential¹ to a degree which could not be claimed by the others. He made several attempts at compromise on those lines, but it will be seen that circumstances were too strong for him. There were, of course, many differing shades of opinion on this matter, and the men who stepped into the controversy were of varying types of mind. It is proposed to indicate how these differences of standpoint and mental outlook were exhibited in the course of a controversy, the very name of which will in all probability repel the great majority of readers. Details of tracts and pamphlets are tedious enough, but the study of the varieties of human intelligence possesses an interest of its own. There are to be dealt with, for example, such men as Laurence, who could reduce every consideration to a logical formula and was not by any means free from fanaticism. Consideration for one's opponents, allowance for inherited prejudices, questions of expediency, are all *anathema* to a mind of this type. Deacon, who is usually and rightly classed with Laurence, possessed a similar mental equipment which can only be described as logical and static, but Deacon stands on a fairly high level for a controversialist. He was never vulgar or unfair, which is more than can be said of Laurence on the one side, or Earberry on the other. At the other extreme there were men of whom there may be taken for an example, Thomas Bell, who held firmly to the belief that the English Liturgy was perfect, and as to the Usages, they were so much worn out lumber and were not even *desideranda*, much less necessary. There were many shades of

¹ Nicholas Brett thought that his father never used the word essential, but only the word necessary. The distinction between these two terms, it may be supposed, lies in the fact that essential is an absolute term while necessity may at times receive a certain amount of qualification.

conviction which may be placed between these two extremes. Collier perhaps was the most consistent of the leaders. His belief in the necessity of the Usages was firmly held, and he never wavered from it in the least degree¹, but he refused to advance one inch further than the observance of the four points, and was evidently convinced that any more "advances" would be a serious injury to the cause. Archibald Campbell was not the extreme fanatic he has been represented. He had a great admiration for the first English Liturgy and naturally ranged himself on the side of the Usagers, but he was a consistent advocate of toleration and, if the invincible prejudice against him as a foreigner had not been so strong as to exclude him from any intimate part in the negotiations, it is probable that he might have done something to restrain the influence of the "fiery zealots," which was the term used by Campbell himself to describe the spirit manifested by Laurence and Deacon. It is an exceedingly difficult matter to analyse the character of Thomas Brett, whose mind was neither logical nor constant. It may be said that Brett's scholarship was of a higher type than could be attributed to the majority of the combatants, and that a certain reserve and hesitation in speaking in terms of dogmatic condemnation is characteristic of a man of such learning. But apart from his special mental equipment it remains true to say that a man of Brett's habit of mind suffers very considerably in controversy, and it happened not seldom that Brett was mistrusted and misunderstood by friends and foes alike. It will be seen that he was prepared to go to very great lengths to avoid a schism, and that he threw in his lot with Collier only when he found himself excommunicated by the other side.

As to the three "opposite" bishops, as they soon began to be called, Hawes was the only one who actually tried to make peace. He, at any rate, was willing to connive at the practices which were desired, but Spinckes and Gandy appear to have been determined to oppose all such suggestions. It was often charged against these bishops that they had all practised the very things which they refused to allow to others, and as a matter of fact the accusation was

¹ An incidental note by Thomas Hearne may perhaps indicate the trend of Collier's opinions. "Last night I heard Mr Samuel Parker say that some years ago Mr Jer. Collier said to this effect that we must come as near the papists as we can, that they may not hurt us." Hearne's *Remarks*, etc., vol. VII, p. 208.

true. Reference has already been made to the practice of Spinckes in the lifetime of Bishop Hicke. It was Hawes' invariable custom to say the Oblatory Prayer immediately after the Consecration, for which practice he had received authority from the deprived Bishop of Norwich. As to Gandy, there is evidence that at one time he used the mixed chalice and left out the words "Militant here on earth¹." There must be included in this review of the general conditions under which the controversy was conducted a consideration which will appear in a more fully developed form at a later period.

- What authority had the five or six bishops to alter the Liturgy in any single point? This lack of authority was very much at the "back of the minds" of those who opposed Collier's innovations. Many of them were convinced that they remained bound by the Acts of Uniformity. To take up this position was not very consistent with the liberty which all the Non-Jurors exercised in consecrating bishops and ordaining priests, but it was very strongly held by many of Collier's opponents. This question of authority came, so to speak, as a cross-current against the considerations which have already been reviewed, and must be duly taken into account in any estimate which may be attempted of the course of the dispute. There were, of course, all shades of opinion upon the point, from those who did not hesitate to identify the authority of the whole Church (in England at least) with the communion of Collier and Brett, to those who would not suffer one jot or tittle of the Book of Common Prayer to be altered.

Thomas Brett returned home soon after the conference of 1716 and appears to have spent twelve months in peaceful retirement. He records the fact that he "practised" just as before and on the 29th July 1717 he made a report to Collier of his work which may be quoted as throwing light on the inner working of the Non-Jurors' system. Brett refers to an agreement "that every priest and deacon should report to the Primus once a year" and accordingly he gives Collier the following particulars. When he first joined the Non-Jurors he had only his wife and children—then about fourteen others, who were accustomed to meet for worship at Spring Grove. At the last Assizes a bill of indictment was presented against Brett for holding illegal assemblies and in consequence he was forced to minister by "twos and threes." The mixture is made,

¹ Rawlinson MSS. D. 847, p. 117. *Ibid.* D. 1254, p. 70.

the words Militant, etc., are omitted, and after the Consecration the prayers from the Clementine Liturgy are said. The number of communicants could be increased if the principle of occasional conformity were admitted. Brett is aware that some Non-Juror bishops, especially in London, do this, but clearly sees that this gives away the whole standpoint of the Non-Jurors¹. Brett recorded some interesting information as to the effect of the interference which he had to endure from the civil power.

As therefore some of my congregation lived at Feversham and some at Canterbury, I went one fourth Sunday to Feversham and another fourth Sunday to Canterbury and the other two Sundays officiated to my own family and sometimes two or three more and have not since been disturbed by anybody².

Matters in London went on with some degree of peace and unity for six or eight months after the abortive conference of July 1716. Evidence has already been given to the fact that Collier was still generally recognised as Primus. He himself communicated occasionally with those who did not adopt his practices and even such a "whole hogger" as Laurence wrote to Brett in the spring of 1717, "though I strongly prefer the congregations which adhere to primitive Catholic practice, yet sometimes I descend to the weakness of our brethren and communicate with other assemblies³." The same attitude of toleration was adopted by the bishops of the other side. In a letter addressed to Bishop Falconar, 12th July 1718, Bishop Spinckes claims that

We did not inquire into their form of worship for a considerable time but left them to take their own measures without any interruption, till at length we were called upon to meet at Thavies Inn—our side did their best to avoid public controversy⁴.

The disputes, however, grew very rapidly and Thomas Bell took "direct action" in breaking up a congregation which was served by Robert Montgomery. A very curious paper in the handwriting of Nicholas Brett, which is preserved among the papers in the possession of Major Mott (see Bibliography), gives some details of this affair. The original from which this paper was copied is said to be in the handwriting of James Anderson, A.M., at that time acting

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 219.

² *Ibid.* vol. xix, f. 33.

³ *Ibid.* vol. III, f. 29.

⁴ College Papers (Bishop Dowden's Pocket Book), p. 41.

as tutor to Bishop Rattray's children. A brief passage is here quoted:

There was indeed one of their presbyters there (Mr Bell) who made some clamour against our Scottish bishops meddling in the concerns of the Church of England, and when one of our Scottish presbyters (Mr Montgomery) who has a congregation there had introduced and for some time used the Scottish Communion Service, he endeavoured to make divisions in his congregation on that account, and procured an advice from Mr Spinckes and Mr Gandy to that presbyter to leave it off and keep by that of England, which was no sooner understood by Mr Collier than he went to them both, and got them to retract their advice, telling them he thought it hard that they who were the smaller number should impose upon the greater who were willing to allow them their freedom. They both disclaimed any such design, and said they had only given their advice according to the representation made to them, and were willing that that presbyter should use the Scottish Office as formerly.

This action of Thomas Bell was commented upon in a letter addressed by Laurence to Brett on the 2nd August 1717¹, and it was always regarded by the Usagers as the first act in breaking the unity of the Non-Jurors. This news seems to have had the effect of impressing upon Dr Brett the seriousness of the situation which was developing. He entered into a correspondence with Thomas Bell whom he rightly regarded as the chief speaker on the side of the opposition. Several of these letters are preserved and they make plain the fact that the little body was already, to all intents and purposes, split into two factions. Bell expressed great indignation at the attacks made upon the English reformers by "our new brethren. We hardly knew they were of us." Brett was at this period of his life very much under the influence of Johnson of Cranbrook, and strongly urged his fiery correspondent to read and study the *Unbloody Sacrifice*. Bell denied that foreign influences had anything to do with the second revision of the Liturgy, which attitude Brett described as simply shutting one's eyes to facts. The time of the pamphlets was now very near at hand. In the letter of Laurence which is referred to above, Brett is very strongly urged to come up to town. "We are all out of gear²." Writing again a few days later, Laurence says, "Matters are come

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 59.

² *Ibid.* f. 77.

to such a pass that even the Laics are now warmly engaged in the disputed points which obliges our Primus to print two or three sheets¹." The seriousness of the position could no longer be disguised, and on the 23rd September 1717 Brett wrote a long letter to Collier strongly urging the necessity for great moderation². The arguments in this letter may be thus summarised. (1) Our opponents claim long and rightful possession for leaving things as they are. Where the total number is so small, ought a bare majority to suffice to alter the Liturgy used and accepted since the Reformation. (2) The dispute is not so much about the things themselves but as to whether or no they are expressed in the Liturgy. Although Brett himself thinks the Liturgy essentially defective in the form of Consecration, he will not absolutely condemn those who think with Bishop Hicke (*Christian Priesthood*, vol. 1, p. 119) that "this oblation is made in substance and according to the intention of the Church in the prayer of Consecration as it now stands." (3) Brett makes a suggestion that "in order to avoid a breach we should do nothing but what we may in some measure justify by our present constitution." His contention is somewhat curious and well worth noting. It is to the effect that the present act of uniformity in substance re-enacts that of 2 & 3 Edw. VI, from which he quotes the following clause: "It shall be lawful for all men as well in Churches, Chapels, Oratories or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible at any time." The claim is that this may be interpreted to mean that anything not contrary to Holy Scripture may be said. It is only on this interpretation that the use of "Hopkins and Sternhold" can be justified. Brett therefore advises no alterations or omissions of any kind but suggests the following additions: After the prayer for the Church, the petition for the departed from Edward VI's first Liturgy—after the Consecration, the Oblation and Invocation from the Clementine Liturgy. Brett regards this course as preferable to a return to the first Liturgy of Edward VI. He thinks that the Clementine Liturgy more efficiently guards against transubstantiation than either the first English Liturgy or that established in 1662. As to the mixed chalice, let the liberty which undoubtedly exists be used. Brett concludes with the very important suggestion that he would not

¹ This was Collier's *Reasons for restoring*, etc., printed in September 1717.

² Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 223.

attempt to enjoin anything unless the whole episcopal college could agree. Without this he would allow full liberty to all to use these prayers or not, as they might see fit. These proposals were evidently thought out with great deliberation, and deserve some notice. It is true that Brett was compelled by the course of events to modify this attitude, but there is reason to believe that, in this letter to Collier, Brett suggested a method of dealing with the dispute from which in his innermost convictions he never swerved, although he was forced to set his hand to propositions of a very different nature. Brett also entered into correspondence with Samuel Hawes, who as chaplain to Lord Winchilsea was frequently Brett's neighbour at Eastwell. There is reason to believe that if the matter had been left in the hands of Hawes and Brett an agreement based upon mutual toleration might have been possible. The extreme parties on either side were, however, too strong and it cannot be denied that Collier allowed himself to be influenced to a great extent by "hot heads¹." Brett began his correspondence with Hawes with the courtly expression of a hope that, "though they might differ in opinion, they would manage their disputes better than some of our people do²." Mutual toleration was what Brett proposed,

that with a general consent they may be permitted to use those things that desire them. Thus those who use them shall not condemn those who use them not, and those that use them not shall not condemn those that use them.

It should be pointed out that alongside with this attitude of toleration, Brett maintained his own opinions with the utmost frankness, and his position in the controversy may well have appeared difficult for Hawes and his colleagues to comprehend. *E.g.* writing of the English Liturgy Brett says:

could I fairly construe our office to find there an Oblation of the symbols of the representative Body and Blood of Christ and an Invocation of the Holy Spirit to bless and sanctify them as such, I would drop the charge, and therefore I enquired how our Liturgy could be construed so as to find in it such an Oblation and Invocation, but could find nothing to give me satisfaction.

At the same time Brett freely admitted that those of the other side did not see things from his point of view and was prepared to

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 303. T. Brett to H. Bedford.

² *Ibid.* f. 235.

admit that their manner of worship might be accepted, if only on the grounds of "invincible ignorance." This theological phrase is not actually used, but it is obvious to any reader of the correspondence that it accurately conveys what was in Brett's mind. In the course of these negotiations Brett made a tentative proposal which eventually brought him into difficulties with both sides. The suggestion was that if any agreement could be reached upon the Oblation and Invocation, the question of the remaining two Usages might be left over for a time. Laurence obtained information of this proposal and denounced it in the most unrestrained manner. There is evidence that at this period Brett was not by any means trusted by the "fiery zealots." On the other hand, when Brett threw in his lot with Collier and signed the declaration enjoining the four usages, the opposite bishops, perhaps not unnaturally, accused Brett of double dealing. The defence was that the proposal was made to Hawes as part of a scheme of conciliation and that, as this failed to mature, Brett was not in any way bound by his suggestion to omit the two lesser Usages. It may be admitted that Brett's conduct was not strictly logical; it may, however, deserve a higher title to respect. Bishop Hawes' letters are written in a kindly and tolerant spirit. He protests against Brett's statement, "that the want of an oblatory prayer makes our Holy Communion a nullity. This is a heavy charge¹." In a subsequent letter Hawes made what may be regarded as a very strong point. "Oblation does not always involve Consecration, but Consecration always means Oblation²." It was not possible to arrive at any agreement, and on 2nd November 1717 Hawes wrote as follows: "We (that is, Spinckes, Gandy and himself) are determined to hold to our constitution as it was when the schism broke in at the Revolution." The two combatants parted with expressions of mutual goodwill, and Brett made his next appeal to Hilckiah Bedford. For a time it appeared that something might be done on the lines of what Bedford described as "connivance." A letter from him to Brett dated 21st November 1717 may be worth quoting. It will be seen that Bedford had evidently "sounded" his superiors on the subject:

Now, if by allowing you mean conniving, which is all that can be done by those in authority at a practice which they think against authority, I dare undertake this subject shall be connived at,

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 81.

² *Ibid.* vol. xv, f. 233.

though I must be forced to do it without their express leave; because that would be more than conniving. And I do not see that you need insist on more, because you may be sure there will be no blaming whilst they connive. And then all that can be wanting to come up to your terms is that there be the same care not to blame the other side. And yet, though I undertake this without their express leave, it is not without having discoursed with every one of them fully upon the subject and being convinced that if such as think themselves obliged to make these alterations in the Liturgy do it modestly and peaceably as you propose without bandying into parties or running about to make converts, they will be in no danger of any censure on that account¹.

The real difficulty was, however, that the rank and file on both sides did not conduct their disputes "modestly and peaceably." Roger Laurence, who had been for some time living *incognito* under the name of R. Joy, now came very much to the front. Thomas Deacon, who had been in Holland for some months, returned to England in the summer of 1717². With these two protagonists were joined Francis Peck, John Rutter, Samuel Jebb, and Thomas Wagstaffe. If an expression current in the late war may be used, these six formed a "ginger group." There is reason to believe that Collier was very much under their control, and they endeavoured also to set Thomas Brett's feet in the right way, but did not find the task very easy. On 24th October 1717, Laurence, Deacon, Rutter and Wagstaffe, all addressed letters to Brett, the purport of which was the same, and it is tolerably safe to conclude that they were sent by mutual agreement. All the writers protested against Brett's proposals to Hawes, and especially against the suggestion that they should continue in communion with those who would not use the four things. These alert young men ransacked Brett's own writings for quotations which might justify them in separating from those who are already described as "our old friends."

On the other hand, an event had occurred in Brett's own ministerial experience which caused him surprise and grief, and

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 209.

² See Hearne's *Remarks*, etc., vol. vi, p. 81. Deacon to Hearne, 17th August 1717. "I doubt not but you have been acquainted both with my being obliged to leave this place in a hurry and with my being returned." This is difficult to reconcile with Deacon's reply to Owen in 1747. See *Biography of T. Deacon*, p. 196.

was in all probability the immediate cause of his adherence to the party of Collier. The story is often repeated by Brett, and the events related occurred in the autumn of 1717. A certain Mrs Bretton, one of Brett's flock at Canterbury, fell ill and desired a clinical communion. Mrs Wagstaffe, widow of the suffragan of Ipswich, and her daughter, were then staying with Dr Clinch in the immediate neighbourhood, and a request was made that these two ladies should receive Holy Communion together with the sick person. Mrs Wagstaffe, however, refused to have anything to do with Brett on the ground of his use of all the four points in the administration of the Sacrament. Brett told her that he did no more than Bishop Hicke and many more of the same opinion, but the lady plainly told him that he was a schismatic¹. Brett states that the first knowledge of two different communions among the Non-Jurors came to him in this way. He regarded it as virtually an act of excommunication. In view of the cordial relations which existed between Thomas Bell and the Wagstaffe family, it is clear that Bell's influence is to be seen in the refusal to hold communion with those who practised the Usages². Consideration of this incident causes one to believe that the famous question of Leslie, "Who made this separation; did they separate from you because you put water in your wine, or did you separate from them because they did not?" was not so unanswerable as has commonly been assumed.

The only course that now remained open to Brett was to apply himself to Collier and to bring into play as much influence of moderation as was possible. By this time Collier's *Reasons for Restoring, etc.*, had opened the flood-gate of pamphlets³. There is no necessity to do more than to make a few special references to these productions, the general tone of which implies that a separation had already been actually made. With regard to Brett's proposals Collier expressed himself in great doubt. On 4th October 1717, he wrote to Brett, "unless our brethren will consent to the removing of defects, I don't see how we can continue with them⁴." Some reference may be made to two letters which Brett addressed

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 10.

² It will be seen that the question of these practices introduced division among families. The younger Wagstaffe was a convinced Usager.

³ A complete list of these pamphlets is given at the end of this chapter.

⁴ Brett MSS., vol. iii, f. 101.

to Collier, both of which are serious in tone and very plain in language. The first bears no date, but was apparently written at this time¹.

I am very sorry to understand that some who desire these alterations have already actually made separation from those who opposed them, and treat them as heretics and schismatics, nay call them by these names—I cannot but think this a very rash proceeding in which I cannot join. I do not see it necessary to separate—I hope, however, you will consider again and again before you take upon you to establish and fix this separation. *Cuncta prius tentanda*: do not make *irremediabile vulnus* of it without necessity.

On 21st November evidently in reply to a letter of Collier containing the formal proposals to the other side which were made at this time, a copy of which is given below, Brett writes:

I cannot comply with the introduction of the word “Bless” into the present consecration prayer and the using of the present oblation—I can no more join with you in communicating according to the form of the first Liturgy of Edw. VI than according to the form of the present Liturgy.

Brett went so far as to say that if Collier persisted in reviving the first English Liturgy he would have to contend that they are still essentially defective.

If you resolve to separate and entirely break communion, unless our brethren will agree to officiate as we do, I will have no stand in any such matter—Remember how the doctrine of the Sacrifice has been so neglected and give them a little time. Their point of view is that the present Liturgy is established upon such an authority as we have not at this time authority to alter it; and therefore they cannot comply to the least alteration unless you can convince them that what is required is of that importance and necessity that we cannot worship God aright without it—it is no use talking of concessions—they must first be convinced of the necessity, and for this time is required.

These are brave words and doubtless represent Brett’s real convictions. It will be necessary to point out, however, that he was compelled to adopt a position very different from that which he assumed in this correspondence with Collier. Further letters passed between the two bishops and in the end Brett gave his consent to

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 285.

the terms which were formally offered to the opposite side¹. The actual wording was as follows:

PROPOSALS FOR PREVENTING A SEPARATION

1. That Water be constantly mixed with the Wine.
2. That the words "Militant here on earth" be always omitted.
3. That in the prayer of Consecration, the petition be always "Hear us, O Merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee: Bless these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine and grant that we receiving, etc."
4. That the prayer of Oblation as it is worded in the present Liturgy be always used immediately after the Words of Institution, before communicating.

The present writer has referred to this matter more fully elsewhere². Thomas Deacon, who certainly may be trusted to know what he was speaking about, made the following summary: "Notwithstanding our persuasion that none of these primitive Usages can be dispensed with, yet we do not insist on them being received by our brethren as necessary things; provided they officiate by them, they may, if they please, declare their practice means no more than temporary concessions and expedients for union." These proposals were anything but logical. The only meaning to be perceived in them is that the outward expression of the "four things" was more necessary than belief in the doctrines of which the things were the expression. Collier's action in this matter might certainly be held to confirm the opinion of Dr Johnson that Non-Jurors were incapable of reason. It is worth while, however, to place the proposals on record as they are frequently referred to in the later controversy of 1732. Early in December 1717 Brett at last made up his mind to take one of his rare visits to London, and continued his peace efforts to the very last. An informal conference was held at Lord Winchilsea's house in town, at which there were present, Lady Winchilsea, Brett, Hawes, and probably one or two others. Brett said that if the other side would only allow him to use the words "With Thy Holy Spirit and Word, vouchsafe to bless, etc.," together with the Oblatory Prayer as Mr Hawes him-

¹ According to Collier's letter to Bishop Rose (no date), Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1182, these proposals were made before the publication of *No Reasons*, etc., i.e. some time before 22nd October 1717.

² *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, pp. 30, 31, 32.

self used it, he would not separate from them. Lady Winchilsea pleaded earnestly that this might be granted, but Mr Hawes, with great zeal and earnestness, positively refused it¹. Collier's position with regard to these final efforts was not very clear, but there is reason to believe that he stood on his dignity as Primus, and in any case he kept aloof. A few days later "all went to Mr Hawes' except Mr Collier, who thought that the meeting ought to be regularly called by himself, and accordingly did so²." The summons which was sent by Collier to all the bishops to attend the famous meeting of 19th December 1717 is preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. and is here given in full. It bears the date of the 9th December.

Gentlemen,

Since you have been pleased to put it to my choice, to give you notice of a meeting when occasion serves, I desire you would meet me on Thursday seven-night about Four. The design is to receive your last resolution upon the proposals sent to you, which are the utmost we can offer. The place if you like it and come only by yourselves will be Mr Peck's chambers in Thavies Inn. But if you intend to bring priests with you, his lodgings will be too straight and so I desire you would appoint some other place. And since there is nothing desired for accommodation but what all of you have either performed at the Altar or joined in, I hope you will not take upon yourselves to form a separation for that which all of you have accounted, at the lowest, lawful practice, especially since as to yourselves they are only expedients for Union; it being not desired that you should receive them as necessary things. God grant us impartial thoughts on the matter, dispose us to truth and peace and that I may always have the satisfaction to remain as well.

Your affectionate brother and your humble servant,

J. SMITH³.

No attempt is made in these pages to pronounce any judgment on the question of the "essentiality" or otherwise of the Usages, but it may be permitted to describe Collier's position as very extraordinary. The question had been decided against him by a large majority, and it is difficult to see by what right the leader of a small section could excommunicate the larger party which differed from him. The opposite bishops were, naturally enough, very indignant, and a letter from Gandy which is preserved in the same

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 7.

² Rawlinson MSS. D. 1254, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.* f. 51.

collection, expressed this indignation in very plain language. The letter was intended to be read to the conference but arrived too late. When the 19th December arrived "the opposite bishops (as stated in Deacon's account¹) neglected or refused to come" and those who assembled in Francis Peck's chambers were all of one mind. The names as given by Brett are as follows: Collier, Campbell, Gadderar, Brett; Laurence, Peck, Deacon, Wagstaffe².

In the MS. account of Dr Brett a detailed account is given of the proceedings of this "conference." It was first proposed that all should act in accordance with the proposals made by Mr Collier for the sake of peace, but in view of the fact that this scheme had been rejected by the opposite party, it was resolved that it was now justifiable to make larger alterations. It was then proposed to adopt the first Liturgy of Edward VI, but an exception was made to this (in all probability by Thomas Brett himself) that the standard for which they contended was not this Liturgy but the practice of the primitive Church. It was not contended that Edward VI's first Liturgy was defective, yet it was not so agreeable to primitive practice as could be wished. The Intercession and the Invocation both preceded the Consecration, in both of which particulars there was followed the order of the Roman Mass book rather than that of the primitive liturgies. It was then unanimously agreed by the four bishops that a new communion office should be drawn up, agreeable to the primitive liturgies, taking in as much of the present established office as might be conveniently done. And the care of this was committed to Mr Collier³.

On the following day an injunction was issued and duly signed by Collier and Brett, of which the following is an exact copy.

In pursuance of a Declaration signed by us on 19th December 1717, We, Jeremy Collier and Thomas Brett, Bishops of the Catholic Church in England, do hereby require and enjoin all our priests, until a fuller and better form can be framed, to officiate according to the following alterations in the Communion Office.

I. The priest shall always leave out the Ten Commandments and

¹ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 33.

² It is stated in Dr Brett's MS. account that a few presbyters attended the conference although not summoned and were admitted. Thomas Wagstaffe was not at this date in Orders.

³ See Dr Brett's MS. account, pp. 40 and 41.

substitute Our Lord's Summary of the Law "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, etc."

II. The priest shall constantly mix water openly with the Eucharistic wine.

III. The priest shall constantly leave out the words "militant here on earth" from the title of the prayer for the Church.

IV. In the aforesaid prayer after the words "Thy Heavenly Kingdom" there shall be said "We commend unto Thy Mercy, O Lord, all Thy servants, who have departed hence from us with the sign of faith and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection we and all they who are of the mystical Body of Thy Son may altogether be set on His right hand and hear that His most joyful voice Come ye blessed etc. etc."

V. After the words of Institution there shall always be said the prayer of Oblation and Invocation from the Clementine Liturgy.

VI. After the Clementine prayers there shall be said the prayer from the established liturgy. "O Lord and Heavenly Father, we Thy humble servants etc."

These directions we have thought fit to give at present. Given under our hands this twentieth day of December in the year of Our Lord 1717.

Francis Peck	} <i>Witnesses.</i>
Roger Laurence	
Thomas Deacon	

JER: COLLIER.
THO: BRETT.¹

The schism was now complete. The words of Deacon,

From this time we may date the formal schism and from that time we thought ourselves discharged from all obligations to the opposite bishops, and looked upon our own to be the true Catholic Bishops, and to have the whole spiritual power over the Catholic Church in England

sufficiently express the claims which were made by this small section of a schism. Thomas Brett must have returned home with a heavy heart. All his efforts at conciliation had failed and he was compelled either to stand alone or to associate himself with a party with which he was not entirely in sympathy. Nevertheless, it will

¹ The foregoing information is derived from Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation* and the Brett MSS. (vol. xv, f. 319). There is some little doubt as to the exact nature of the alterations of the prayer for the Church. In Brett's account there is inserted in another hand the form for the Commemoration of Saints as found in the first English Liturgy.

be seen that Brett remained loyal to the authority of his Primus until the death of the latter in 1726.

The Non-Jurors have been represented in this chapter as conducting a war within their own small household, which originated moreover on questions which could hardly be said to be of the first importance. It may be well to remember that in the course of this same year 1717 one distinguished Non-Juror made a contribution to the literature of the day which at once appealed to a very widely spread circle of readers and is quoted both as an authority and a standard in the present day. The publication of William Law's *Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* was an event of first-rate importance. It would be foreign to the purpose of the present book to take sides in the Bangorian or any other controversy, but it may be pointed out, as a matter of fact, that Bishop Hoadly was the embodiment of the policy of Sir Robert Walpole which was now about to be developed. The continuation of the separate organisation of the Non-Jurors for a period of sixty years was largely due to the dread of the effect upon the religious life of the country caused by a succession of bishops who may be described as of latitudinarian and Erastian opinions. William Law, in the protest which was made in 1717, was the first of the series of Non-Jurors who raised their voices against a policy which they believed to be opposed to the best interests in Church and State.

There is printed in this place a list of the various tracts which were published at this period. It may be said to be authoritative in the sense that it was drawn up by Thomas Wagstaffe¹. It is hoped that it may be useful as a standard of reference.

A COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRACTS WRITTEN IN THE USAGES CONTROVERSY 1717-1725

1. *Reasons for restoring some Prayers and Directions, etc.* Mr Collier, 12th September 1717.
2. *No Reasons for Restoring, etc.* Mr Hawes, 22nd October 1717².
3. *A Defence of the Reasons.* Mr Collier, 14th December 1717.
4. *No Necessity to alter the Common Prayer, etc.* Mr Scott, 17th January 1717/18.
5. *Letter from Mr Leslie to his Friend.* 3rd January 1717/18. (N.B. Mr W. wrote a short letter but did not publish it.)

¹ For further details see Bibliography, p. xiii.

² This pamphlet has always been attributed without hesitation to Spinckes.

6. *Answer to a Printed Letter, etc.* Mr Campbell, January 1717/18.
7. *No Reason to alter the Present Liturgy on Account of Prayers for the Dead.* E. Hart, January 1717/18.
8. *The Subtlety of the Serpent.* Mr Minors—printed in 1718; suppressed by Mr Collier¹.
9. *No Sufficient Reasons for Restoring, etc.* Mr Spinckes, Part I, May 1718.
10. *The Necessity of an Alteration.* Thomas Wagstaffe, 3rd July 1718.
11. *The Necessary Use of Tradition, etc.* Dr Brett, 19th July 1718.
12. *No Sufficient Reason.* Mr Spinckes, Part II, 13th September 1718.
13. *Vindication of the Reasons and Defence.* Mr Collier, Part I, 11th November 1718.
14. *Mr Collier's Desertion Discussed.* Mr Snatt, 17th February 1718/19.
15. *Vino Eucharistico aqua non necessario admiscenda; Concio ad Clerum.* Mr Drake, 19th February 1718/19.
16. *Vindication of the Reasons and Defence.* Mr Collier, Part II, 12th March 1718/19.
17. *No Just Grounds for introducing the new Communion Office.* Mr Spinckes, 14th March 1718/19.
18. *The Plaintiff's Charge Disproved and turned upon Himself by the Defendant in a Letter to the Author of No Just Grounds.* Mr Deacon, 28th March 1719.
19. *Vindication of the No Necessity.* Mr Scott, 2nd April 1719.
20. *A Dialogue between Timothy a Churchman, and Thomas, an Essentialist.* Mr Whitehead, 14th May 1719. (By Dr Kenyon, M.D. and Dr Hubbard².)
21. *The Controversy about Restoring, etc. summed up.* Mr Rogerson, 4th July 1719.
22. *Letter from Mr Leslie.* 30th July 1719.
23. *Answer to the Above.* A. Campbell, 22nd August 1719.
24. *Vino Eucharistico aqua necessario admiscenda; Responsio ad Concionem.* T. Wagstaffe, 19th September 1719.
25. *A Dissertation on Ancient Liturgies.* Dr Brett, 22nd September 1719.
26. *Mr Leslie's Defence.* Mr Laurence, 16th October 1719.
27. *Vindication of the Postscript to "Tradition."* Dr Brett, 16th November 1719.

¹ The violence of the language of this tract fully justified its suppression. Minors afterwards became a Roman Catholic.

² This pamphlet has always been attributed to Earberry. The reference to Drs Kenyon and Hubbard is quite incomprehensible but the above is a correct copy of Wagstaffe's list.

28. *Mr Collier's Desertion, etc.* Second Edition, much enlarged, 12th January 1719/20¹.
29. *Reflections upon Modern Fanaticism.* Mr Earberry, 2nd April 1720.
Letter to the Author of Mr Leslie's Defence. Mr Earberry, 1720.
30. *Abridgement of the Controversy.* S. Downes, 23rd April 1720.
31. *Reasonableness and Necessity, etc.* T. Wagstaffe, 19th May 1720.
32. *Reply to the Vindication.* Mr Spinckes, June 1720.
33. *Further Defence.* Mr Collier, 20th December 1720.
34. *De Forma Consecrationis Eucharisticae; A Defence of the Greek Church against the Roman by the late learned Dr Grabe.* Now first published and translated by Thomas Wagstaffe. 20th December 1720.
35. *Doctrine of the Eucharist stated and the Harmony between the Primitive Church and the Church of England proved, by which our Essentialists are condemned.* S. Walker, 23rd December 1720.
36. *Tradition is no Rule.* S. Walker, disposed of privately, October 1721.
37. *Ad Thomam Wagstaffe (S. Drake) Epistola.* 4th April 1721.
38. *The Common Christian Instructed.* Mr Griffin, 1st March 1721/22.
39. *Abridgement, etc.* S. Downes (Second Edition), 4th April 1722.
40. *Responsionis ad Concionem Vindiciae.* T. Wagstaffe, 5th September 1724/25.

¹ There was a vindication printed of *Mr Collier's Desertion, etc.*, before the second edition of it came out, but never published. The title of it ran thus: *A short but full vindication of the book entitled Collier's Desertion from the ridiculous impertinent and malicious coils of that apostate set of schismatics from the Church of England who vainly called themselves primitive Catholics though they had not one word in the Scripture to vindicate them in their belief or practice. But they think this is sufficiently supplied by the bold though extraordinarily weak assertions of their mighty champion.* 9th June 1719. London: Printed for T. Jeffreys at the Bible in Ludgate Hill and sold by T. Warner at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row.

THE NEW SEPARATIONS

THE NEW COMMUNION OFFICE—FURTHER CONSECRATIONS ON BOTH SIDES—NON-JUROR BISHOPS FOR AMERICA—DEATH OF COLLIER

IT will have been noted that in the Injunction quoted in the last chapter there is reference to a "fuller and better form," to be provided in due course. The small section, under the nominal direction of Collier, not only excommunicated the larger portion of their own communion, but also set to work to prepare and authorise a Form for the Celebration of the Eucharist which should be free from the defects which, in the opinion of the more extreme members of the section, rendered the established office a "nullity." The preparation of a new Liturgy is always, as history shows, a matter of very great delicacy, but the circumstances under which the Non-Jurors' Liturgy was compiled were extraordinary beyond precedent. It will be of advantage to consider the attitude of those who were responsible for this work, and this may be illustrated by quoting from two letters of Thomas Deacon who was, personally and as the representative of Collier, largely concerned in the matter. On 17th November 1717 Deacon wrote to Brett: "Bishop Hicckes' principles were different from yours and mine. He did not believe there was any essential deficiency in our Liturgy, though we do¹." Again, on 19th July 1721, Deacon wrote that formerly he had tried to vindicate the Church of England and to show that she was agreeable to Dr Hicckes' propositions. "I wish I could do so now. When I came to consult history, the less defensible I found the Church of England²." The development of Deacon's opinions during these four years will be noted. It is evident that a new school was growing up in which "the Church of England as it stood at the Revolution" was not exactly regarded with reverence.

There has hitherto been some doubt as to the authorship of the new office. Canon Overton inclined to the view that Brett was largely responsible for it. The present writer has elsewhere contended that the compilation of this Liturgy was in the main the work of Thomas Deacon and also submitted reasons for believing that the Preface was written by the same hand³. A certain amount

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 151.

² *Ibid.* vol. IV, f. 285.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 43.

of modification may be necessary in the case of both these opinions. It is clear that Brett had a very considerable influence with regard to the general form of the proposed office. *E.g.* writing on the 23rd January 1717/18, he remarks: "When in town, I prevailed on them not to take the Liturgy of Edw. VI as the model¹." It does not, however, appear that Brett took any direct part in the actual preparation. Certain letters which passed between Brett and Collier indicate that the former did from time to time make various suggestions, but the general tone of the correspondence implies that the actual arrangement of the details was in the hands of the Primus. It appears to have been generally understood that the authorship of the Liturgy was not to be attributed to Collier himself. Certainly the writer of *Mr Collier's Desertion Discussed*, who criticises the Liturgy with some approach to violence, always assumes that the actual author was some person other than Collier. There is, however, more decisive evidence to be found in a letter written by Thomas Wagstaffe from Rome in the year 1748 to a correspondent in London. The particular reference is to the change which Deacon had made at the time of writing, which will be referred to in due course.

They have abandoned the office which not only had been received and used by them, but if my memory fails me not, was the very work of Dr Deacon, being drawn up by him and supervised by Mr Collier, whose hand may perhaps appear in some of the beautiful parts of it, notwithstanding the main of the composition came from the Doctor's pen².

The account of Wagstaffe may be said to give a sufficient summary of the matter, but it may be added that, in Dr Brett's MS. account, Thomas Deacon himself appended the following marginal note: "Mr Deacon, a presbyter, drew them (these offices) up, but Mr Collier newly translated the Eucharistical Thanksgiving before the words of Institution." The intimate family relationship which existed between Collier and Deacon is of course the key to the whole question. It is also explicitly stated in Dr Brett's MS. that Mr Collier reserved to himself the duty of writing the Preface, which solves a question which has hitherto been a matter of some doubt.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 307. Brett to Tyreman.

² *Ibid.* vol. xii, f. 335. Wagstaffe to Mrs Blackmore, 26th November 1748.

The task of compilation appears to have been completed with little delay. On the 22nd February 1717/18, Collier wrote to Brett: "Last Thursday, we had a meeting of fourteen where the whole was passed," to which letter Brett added as a marginal note, "that is the New Communion Office¹."

A brief summary of the new office is given below. Much has been previously written on the subject, but the importance of the work has hardly received sufficient recognition. The circumstances of its production may be regarded as pitiful or even ridiculous, but for all that the resulting Liturgy shows signs of very high scholarship, and the subsequent influence on later Liturgies which have been permanently established has been much greater than is commonly believed.

The title is as follows:

A COMMUNION OFFICE, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies and partly from the first English Reformed Common Prayer Book; together with Offices for CONFIRMATION AND THE VISITATION OF THE SICK (London, James Bettenham, 1718).

In the Preface it is claimed that "the safest way is to be governed by the practice of the Ancient Church"—that the new office has been compiled on these lines. Passages are said to have been drawn from the following Liturgies: The Clementine, St Basil, St James and the first of Edw. VI. Attention is drawn to the restoration of the Sign of the Cross and Chrism in Confirmation and the Unction of the Sick. Application to saints and angels, any doctrine of purgatory, belief in a Corporal Presence are all repudiated. The fourth commandment is said to look "askance" at the Christian religion as ordering the observance of the seventh day and therefore all the commandments are omitted. In the Liturgy itself the principal alteration in the Pre-Communion is the substitution of our Lord's summary of the Law in place of the commandments, as notified in the Preface². At the Offertory the chalice was to be mixed publicly and a short prayer of offering from the Liturgy of St Basil was introduced at this point. The *Anaphora* began with the *Sursum Corda*, prefaced by "the Lord be with you." After the *Sanctus*,

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 195. Collier to Brett.

² This Summary of the Law has found a permanent place in the Scottish Liturgy. The objection which is made against it is that it introduces a preliminary reading of the Gospel in a place where an Old Testament lection might be expected.

which was worded as follows: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory, Hosanna in the Highest; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Glory be to Thee O Lord Most High¹," was inserted from the Liturgy of St James, "Holiness is Thy nature and Thy Gift, O Lord, etc.," concerning which Brett makes an interesting reference in his *Liturgies*:

Besides that general thanksgiving concluded with the seraphic hymn, Holy, Holy, Holy, there was also another particular thanksgiving containing a sort of Creed and also an enumeration of the mercies vouchsafed to mankind in the redemption of the world by the death of Christ. And such is that which immediately follows the Seraphic Hymn in the Communion Office lately compiled, and which some are so angry with, though it is taken from the Liturgy of St James².

No attempt was made to preserve the structure of the Consecration Prayer of the established Liturgy³. The *Post Sanctus* was concluded by the recital of the Institution. There followed immediately the Oblation and Invocation from the Clementine Liturgy—the prayer for the Church almost exactly in the words of the first English Liturgy—*Pater Noster*—"The Peace of the Lord be always with you"—"Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us" (not as an anthem but to be said by the priest alone). The preparation for Communion of priest and people followed, viz. The Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access, the whole being concluded by the second Post Communion Collect and *Gloria in Excelsis* as in the established Liturgy.

It is to be noted that the new Liturgy was distinctly not that of Edw. VI. It was formed as far as possible on the model of the ancient Liturgies of which the Clementine was regarded as the norm or type. Brett contended that it was due to his influence that Collier was persuaded to take this Liturgy as the model in

¹ This particular form is found in the suggested revision of the Scottish Liturgy (1889) but it was not adopted in the revision of 1911.

² See *Liturgies*, p. 234. The corresponding prayer from the Clementine Liturgy was not adopted on account of its great length.

³ Brett's opinion of the English Consecration Prayer was that "It came from Geneva." Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 254. Letter to Sir R. Cox, 2nd November 1722. Sir R. Cox (1650-1733), Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was a zealous protestant and whole-hearted supporter of the Revolution. The circumstances under which he entered into correspondence with Thomas Brett are not known. In 1713 he wrote *An Enquiry into Religion, and the Use of Reason in reference to it*.

preference to that of Edw. VI. He had suggested several minor corrections which were not adopted and upon which he did not think it worth while to insist. He desired that the Confession and Absolution should stand before the *Anaphora*, as in the established office, and he would also have inserted *Sancta Sanctis* before the distribution¹. The Liturgy was used for the first time on Easter Day, 13th April 1718, and on 11th March of the following year, it was "incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer." A copy of this Prayer Book with the alterations inserted is preserved in the Library of Sion College².

The New Office (as it soon came to be called) met with approval at the hands of some of Brett's old friends who remained in communion with the Church. On 26th April 1718 Brett replied as follows, to a letter of Charles Wheatly: "I am glad that you like the New Office—so does Johnson. How he can satisfy himself to receive and give a Sacrament essentially defective I know not³."

The Liturgy of 1718 may lay claim to more consideration than has yet been accorded to it. It should not be forgotten that the compilation was made under the auspices of two men whose knowledge of the subject was unrivalled. Brett and Collier possessed qualities of mind and stores of learning which would have fitted them to take a leading part in the preparation or revision of a liturgy suitable for a much greater communion than the little body to which they gave so freely of their best.

It should be pointed out once more that the Liturgy of 1718 was the type on which the present Scottish Liturgy was made and through it the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church of America, and in our own day a similar Liturgy has been authorized for the Anglican Churches of the province of South Africa. It is possible to exaggerate the importance and influence of the Non-Jurors' office, and certainly the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 is to be taken into account in any estimate which may be attempted. If the Liturgy of Laud and Wedderburn had not been in existence, it

¹ In modern times there has frequently been expressed a similar opinion as to the position of the Confession in the Scottish Office. (See Bishop Dowden's *Annotated Scottish C. O.*, p. 168.)

² For further details see *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, pp. 43 *et seq.* Confusion has been caused by neglecting to note that although the Office was first used in 1718 it was not formally incorporated until 11th March 1718/19.

³ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 9.

is probable that no distinct office for Scotland would have emerged from the confusions of the Revolution and the disasters of the '45, but the Scottish Liturgy of 1764, as well as those which were derived from it, possesses, along with some variations of secondary importance, one common and essential characteristic which was not found in the Liturgy of 1637. In all of them there is preserved the Eastern order of (1) Words of Institution, (2) Solemn Oblation to God the Father, (3) Invocation of the Holy Spirit. It falls within the province of the historian to point out that these developments are undoubtedly due to the New Communion Office of 1718.

The division of opinion among the Non-Jurors on the subject of the Anglican Liturgy was no new thing in their own day. There had been, before their time, those who regarded the English Liturgy as perfect as well as those who desired that it should be brought more closely into accordance with other Rites. It may be pointed out that the same problems exist even in the present day. Many proposals have been made and are likely to be made for what may be considered the improvement of the Liturgy. Excellent arguments have in recent years been made in favour of (1) leaving the Liturgy as it is, (2) reverting to the first Liturgy of Edw. VI, (3) adopting a form based on the Scottish Liturgy. The historian is not in any way concerned in the decision of such matters. He may, however, claim that any opposition made to proposals of alterations in the last-named direction cannot be based on the ground that they are "Popish."

It is not necessary to make any extended comment on the Offices for Confirmation and Visitation of the Sick. The prayer for the bestowal of the "Gifts of the Holy Ghost" received a certain amount of amplification, but the principal feature was the direction to the bishop to say "N. I sign thee with the Sign of the Cross. I anoint thee with the Holy Ointment." The Unction of the sick was declared in the Preface to be intended to be used "by way of recovery¹."

The effect of the publication of the New Office was naturally to widen the breach which existed between the two sections of Non-Jurors. No one will now desire to be wearied with a full account of the deluge of tracts and pamphlets which were poured forth on both sides, but some of these curious productions deserve a passing

¹ For further details see *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 46.

notice. One of the best of these on the side of the Non-Usagers is entitled *No Necessity to Alter the Book of Common Prayer; the Unreasonableness of the New Separation*¹. This pamphlet has not been noted by previous writers. There seems to be no doubt that the author is W. Scott. The tone of the tract is conciliatory. The writer freely owns the things contended for to be *desideranda* but denies their absolute necessity and would like to see them restored in a regular way. Thomas Wagstaffe made his first appearance as an author in a long and learned reply to this tract which was published in 1718, and was entitled *The Necessity of an Alteration*. Wagstaffe's argument is, in brief, that if these things are admitted to be *desideranda* as being practices of the Primitive Church, the writer really gives away the case. "For this will prove them of Divine Original, derive them from Christ and His Apostles and demonstrate their essentiality; for it is certain and allowed that the Primitive Christians made no alterations in the matter of the Form of the Eucharistical Sacrifice²."

The titles of two other contributions may be quoted as illustrating what may be called the spaciousness of the times. *Concio Habita ad Clerum in templo B. Mariae Cantabrigiae, termino Sancti Michaelis 1718 pro gradu Baccalaureatus in Sacra Theologia. Auctore, Samuele Drake, Coll. Div. Iohan. Evang. Soc.*³ In 1719 Wagstaffe replied to this pamphlet in one of similar learning. *Responsio ad Concionem Habitum ad Clerum etc.*, which was headed by the line *Vino Eucharistico aqua necessario admiscenda*⁴.

The period was marked not merely by the issue of tracts, but by the publication of works of more permanent value, two or three of which may receive a short notice. A full account of Deacon's *Purgatory* has been given elsewhere⁵. It is well known that this book was dedicated to Thomas Brett and some correspondence which passed on the subject may be read with interest. On 6th June 1718 Deacon wrote:

I have had a controversy with a Romanist upon the subject of Purgatory, and my friends have obliged me to put it to the press. It will make a small book bound in duodecimo. This being the first time my name has appeared on the title page,

¹ See list at end of last chapter, No. 4.

² See list of Pamphlets, No. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 24.

³ *Ibid.* No. 15.

⁵ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 159.

I am desirous of having the book grac'd with a name at the beginning and therefore beg favour of you to allow me to dedicate it to you¹.

Several letters passed between the elder and the younger man and Brett consented to the dedication on condition that "you do not launch out into panegyric...pray say no more of me than may be said of the meanest presbyter of our communion." On receiving a copy of the book Brett congratulated Deacon on "his wonderful learning and devotion." In connection with this subject there may be mentioned some curious cross-currents of thought which were expressed in criticisms of Campbell's *Middle State*, the second edition of which was published in 1719. Campbell's name does not appear prominently in the disputes concerning the Usages. From the letters which he wrote to Brett it is evident that he urged very earnestly the necessity for mutual conciliation, but the fact remains that Collier did not trust Campbell, and one of the grounds of suspicion was what Collier regarded as heretical and dangerous teaching expressed in Campbell's voluminous work. *E.g.* Deacon wrote to Brett on 28th November 1719: "A friend of yours, Mr Campbell, holds the pains of purgatory (without the fire), as much as any papist can do...he now intends to print a book upon it. We are endeavouring with all our power to prevent it but I am afraid it is impossible²." Three years later, Collier objected to Brett's making reference to the *Middle State* in a pamphlet of his own:

My reasons are in quoting that gentleman's book, it will probably put it into more hands and be construed as an approbation of his singularity, and though I always had a regard for Mr C. and still have, yet I must needs say that something concerning purification which he printed before has proved not a little unserviceable to our business...We have, God be thanked, carried a great point by reviving the Four Things, but if we don't stop here, depend upon it, we are blown up³.

Collier never modified his suspicion of Campbell's work and one of his last acts was to frame a sort of "canon" in which Campbell's "heresy" was denounced⁴.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 295.

² *Ibid.* vol. IV, f. 77.

³ *Ibid.* vol. V, f. 53. J. Collier to T. Brett, 25th October 1722.

⁴ Brett never assented to this canon and was not even advised of the matter. In many of his letters to Campbell (see College Papers, f. 1) Brett expresses his agreement with Campbell as to the "purification" of the faithful departed.

The principal publication of the year 1718 was Brett's *Tradition*. According to a note on the title-page this work was intended as an "answer to that part of a book lately published called *No Sufficient Reason* which seems to depreciate Tradition." Brett sent the MS. to Collier some two months before the date of publication. It appears to have aroused the enthusiasm of the Primus.

I fancy the book Mr Bedford reckons on will be half spoiled before published. You have cut the ground under their feet, strangled them in the birth and blown up their battery before the guns can come into action¹.

In this work Brett reached a height of learning and scholarship to which Spinckes and his party found it difficult to climb. The main point of the book may be briefly stated. Brett points out that the rule of the Church of England is that nothing must be taught as necessary to salvation but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments and what the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have collected from the same. All persons are prepared to accept the first part of this rule but great confusion follows from taking this alone and neglecting the Tradition of the Primitive Church. To the objection that by this argument the infallible Scriptures can only be understood by fallible men, Brett answers that the Scriptures have been copied again and again by fallible men and yet in essentials they agree.

As therefore this is the only certain rule to assure us that we have the true genuine Scriptures, because we have a moral demonstration that the Scriptures we have are faithful transcripts from the original or from copies of the original taken thence by those Fathers who lived so near the time when the Scriptures of the New Testament were written that they could not be deceived themselves, and have a false book imposed upon them for genuine, and who, we are assured, have not imposed upon us any false book of this kind (since if they had, their several copies could not have been so agreeable to each other), so this unanimous consent of the Ancient Fathers and Primitive Bishops is the only certain rule for the interpretation of Scripture, even in matters necessary to salvation, and is as infallible in the one case as in the other.

The whole controversy at least from the Usagers' point of view may be said to be summarized in Brett's famous *Dissertation on Liturgies* (1720). This work has been regarded as a standard down

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 247. Collier to Brett, 6th May 1718.

to comparatively recent times¹. It is not proposed to repeat the accounts of it which have many times been given, but there are certain letters in the Brett MSS. which refer to the preparation and publication of the work which may excite some interest. It is stated on the title-page that the translations are "done by several hands." In May 1718 Brett wrote to his friends in London, stating that he would be glad of some assistance in the translation of the Ancient Liturgies. The work was taken up with considerable energy. On the 10th May 1718, T. Wagstaffe replied to Brett:

Mr Deacon and Mr Jebb will be glad to serve you, but I am not sure that Mr R. Rawlinson's business will admit of an avocation; however, if he should not be able to bear us company, Mr Rutter has promised to supply his place².

Further information is recorded as to the publication of the book. Printing difficulties were very serious for the Non-Jurors at this time. Thomas Deacon in a letter to Brett, 16th July 1719, remarks: "We can get nobody to print our books when we have wrote them ...I have already printed the *Reasons*, *Defence*, and *Vindication*, and the *Plaintiff's Charge* at my own expense and have enough of being a bookseller³." Brett's *Liturgies*, however, found more favour with the publishers. "Mr King took your *Liturgies* (so writes Deacon) because he thought it was a curious thing and therefore the Clergy would buy." The work of getting the sheets through the press was done by Francis Peck, as will be seen by letters from the latter to Brett written on 16th April and 30th May 1719. It is also established that Peck wrote the Preface to the work, the authorship of which has always been a matter of doubt. In the last-named letter, Peck desires to know whether Brett intends any Preface to the whole work or "would you have me do it," and in Deacon's letter distinct reference is made to "Mr Peck's Preface."

In the comments which were made on the New Office in the Appendix to the actual Liturgies, and in his letters of this date, Brett appears to have reached the limit of his opinions as an

¹ Copies of this work are still met with. There is in the possession of Sion College an advertisement of a catalogue of Kerslake of Bristol, which includes a copy of the *Liturgies* with the following inscription. "This book was given by the most Reverend & Learned Author Dr. Brett to Timo. Mawman."

² Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 267.

³ *Ibid.* vol. IV, f. 23.

"essentialist." The following statement is made as to the want of an Oblation in the established office :

It is evident as the sun at noon-day that our Liturgy has appointed no such Oblation as Mr Johnson has proved to be a necessary part of the service. Neither the Oblation of the elements and alms, nor that of ourselves is the Eucharistic Oblation instituted by Christ and prescribed in all the Ancient Liturgies¹.

In a letter to Johnson of Cranbrook, whom Brett describes as their real leader, language is used which is not different from the exaggerated style of Laurence :

Our opponents urge lack of civil sanction. Our answer is that we believe these things to be necessary and are therefore obliged to teach and practise them both in season and out of season².

It will be seen that in the later controversy, Brett entirely denied the truth of the statements which he made in the year 1720, and it was not long before there appeared some signs of his change of mind.

The name of Richard Rawlinson will have been noted among those to whom Brett appealed for help in his work of translation. The fact that Rawlinson began his clerical career as a follower of Collier is clearly established by the evidence³ of the Brett MSS. and his defection to the other side which took place in the year 1718 was evidently regarded by the Usagers as a serious loss. The news of Rawlinson's change of mind was announced to Brett by Deacon on the 25th October 1718. "Mr Richard Rawlinson after having been a doubter for some months has at last joined the other side⁴." There is preserved among the MSS. known by Rawlinson's

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 209. Brett to T. Bell, 22nd June 1717.

² *Ibid.* f. 329. Brett to Johnson, 25th February 1717/18.

³ The following quotation from a copy of a letter (College Papers, f. 6, p. 18) will show that Rawlinson was at one time reckoned among the "extreme" clergy under Collier's jurisdiction.

"To Mr. Richard Rawlinson or Mr. Thos. Deacon, 1st February, 1717.
Rev: Sir,

The bearer hereof, Mr. Edward Moseley, has given me satisfaction that he is a primitive catholic Christian, and that he resolves by God's Grace always to continue so without communicating any more with either Juring or Non-Juring dissenters; upon the sincerity of this profession he humbly desires and I earnestly recommend him to be admitted to communicate at your Altar,

I am, Rev. Sir,

Yours affectionately,

R. LAURENCE."

⁴ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 325.

name¹ a copy of a letter written by him on the 24th December 1718 to an unknown friend. There are reasons for believing that the correspondent may have been Richard Russell, but, in any case, a few extracts from the letter may be of some interest:

Though I am a stranger to your person, yet having been last night by a friend of yours made acquainted with your scruples in relation to our communion, upon his request I have here attempted to give you the best satisfaction in my power. Your objections, as lately started by some, who were of us but now gone out from us, are levelled against our Altar Service as deficient and wanting the necessary parts to make it complete...these are the four controverted points between us, not regarded by us, as not to be found in Holy Writ, and pleaded for and used by our adversaries, because delivered down by what they term uninterrupted succession ...We believe the sum and substance of our duty as Christians to be contained in the Scriptures, and that all things necessary to our salvation are confessedly easy to be understood and that because we are ignorant of any other revealed rule of faith. Now if this be granted and we relinquish this hold, there are no absurdities but we may be drawn into by our enemies...the Invocation of the Holy Ghost and the Oblation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are already in our Liturgy; the first before the Decalogue and in the prayer of Consecration; the last in the prayer for the Church where we pray God to accept our alms and oblations; and the rubric before seems to determine the sense of the word Oblation where the priest is enjoined to set those elements upon the altar, those elements which are first offered to God, a blessing asked and then consecrated and made the representative Body and Blood of our Lord.

Rawlinson admits that in a lawful convocation, "these things so fully implied might be more explicitly laid down." He confesses that prayers for the dead "staggered him"—"This teaching evacuates and annuls the necessary duty of repentance." The letter concludes with a kindly wish that the unknown correspondent may be able to receive the Holy Sacrament at Christmas "without scruple." This letter, in which Rawlinson's character is shown in an unusually amiable light, may serve as a summary of the long drawn out controversy from the point of view of the Non-Usagers².

¹ Rawlinson MSS. D. 373 (13154), p. 106.

² Further indications of Rawlinson's complete conversion to the Non-Usagers' opinions may be found in Hearne's *Remarks, etc.* (vol. vii, p. 102), Letter from H. to H. Hall. "I have been several times with Mr R. Rawlinson. He spoke much against Mr Collier's schemes and proceedings and said he believed these measures would dwindle and become quite broke in four or five years' time."

It is obvious that Collier and Brett were very far from being comfortable in the state of separation which had been brought about by the introduction of the New Office, and it is impossible to believe that either of them could view the dispute from the standpoint of fanaticism. Attempts at a reconciliation were repeatedly made during Collier's lifetime, and in every case the negotiations proceeded from the side of the Usagers. A very early effort at an agreement is mentioned by Collier in a letter to Bishop Rose, 1st March 1717/18¹:

About three weeks since a learned person of their laity was willing to try his interest for a coalescence. He suggested that the leaving out only the words Militant etc. would not easily pass; and they would rather consent to the omitting the whole title of the prayer excepting "let us pray." We told him we were willing to agree to this larger omission and close with them upon this temper, provided they practised the other three things and with a reservation of liberty for using our own office. But when this last overture was made they showed nothing but warmth and disinclination and yielded not so much as any single point.

The failure of these negotiations was repeated in several similar attempts, one of which took place in the winter of 1719 and of which Brett was not advised until the following year. All these schemes broke down on two points. The Non-Usagers refused to allow the least alteration; the Usagers demanded some direct and outward expression of the things contended for, but this did not necessarily mean the retention of the New Office, which Collier repeatedly offered to surrender for the sake of peace. The Non-Usagers became more uncompromising in their opposition as the controversy went on. The essentialists were of opinion that Bishop Spinckes was personally responsible for the deadlock which was always reached in the various proposals, and there is reason to believe that Spinckes' attitude of opposition to the Usages became more pronounced in his latter years². The unyielding attitude of

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1182.

² See Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 270, Campbell to Falconar, 20th May 1718, "Mr Spinckes has now broken with us and will not sign a letter dismissory to a brother of our way who is going abroad"; No. 273, Campbell to Rattray, 6th September 1718, "Mr Spinckes now regards prayer for the faithful departed not only not tolerable, but sinful." College Papers, f. 6, Campbell to Rattray, 20th June 1721, "Spinckes' party will not meet us in any service not even in burying."

Spinckes and his colleagues may be said to have justified itself in the end, for it will be made clear that the Usagers were compelled to make an all but complete surrender.

The most important attempt at a reconciliation, which took the form of negotiations with the Scottish bishops, deserves fuller consideration. It failed in its main purpose, but had far-reaching results in another direction. There had been from the time of the Revolution constant intercourse between the English and Scottish Non-Jurors, and the Scottish Episcopalians received, in their time of persecution and confusion, much practical sympathy from their comparatively more fortunate brethren in the south. The assistance which was given to Scotland did not by any means solely proceed from the strict Non-Jurors. The efforts which were made by John Sharp, Archbishop of York, are well known. They included not merely acts of alleviation of the suffering of the Scottish clergy, but also attempts to remove the trouble at its source by a mitigation of the policy of persecution. In the early years of Queen Anne great quantities of Common Prayer Books were sent to Scotland. The Queen herself contributed to the supply and the University of Oxford was especially generous¹. More material aid was not wanting. The legacy of £200 from Robert Nelson for the deprived clergy is typical of many similar attempts to alleviate the distress². The kindness of those English Churchmen who were not of the same "sentiment" as their Scottish brethren was doubtless thankfully accepted, but the fact remains that the distressed remnant regarded the English Non-Jurors as their true kinsmen, and at this period the Scottish Episcopalians looked up to their English brethren for support and guidance. The action of the English Non-Jurors in appealing to Scotland for help in the special difficulties, which they themselves had made, reversed this position and henceforward the Scottish Non-Jurors came to be regarded as the leading section of the movement.

It is not known with certainty from which party the idea of an appeal to Scotland originated, but it is probable that the action of Collier in sending Francis Peck to Edinburgh in the spring of 1718

¹ Bishop Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 46.

² See article in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. II, p. 265 (Bishop John Falconar and his friends). Spinckes to Falconar, sending him £4 out of a kind legacy by good Mr Nelson "for which the good Dean and I were left trustees."

was the first stage in the process. Peck was not an entirely suitable person to conduct negotiations of a delicate nature. His letters in the Brett MSS. show him to have been a controversialist devoid of any sense of proportion, and his later career marked him as a man of unstable character. He had, however, considerable knowledge of liturgical matters and was on friendly terms with Bishop John Falconar and Thomas Rattray of Craighall. Collier's purpose in sending Peck to Scotland was to obtain a synodical decision of the Scottish bishops upon the subject of the Usages¹.

Spinckes could not afford to allow his side to be unrepresented. He seems, indeed, to have entered into correspondence with Bishop Rose at a very early stage of the controversy, from some of the letters of which interesting information may be obtained. There is, moreover, the probability that Spinckes obtained the services of a local representative in Scotland in the person of William Irwine, "the Jacobite preacher of Killiecrankie and Preston," who was consecrated in this same year².

An appeal to the Scottish Non-Jurors meant in effect a petition to one or two persons of great weight in that distracted communion. Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Vicar of St Andrews, was the great pillar of the Church of this time, but there was also to be reckoned the influence of Bishop John Falconar and Thomas Rattray, who might, at this period, be described as a "power behind the throne." Less in point of view of influence, but not to be ignored, were Bishops Fullerton and Miller and Irwine. A study of the opinions and practices of these men will make it evident that no "synodical" decision upon the Usages could be expected from them. Rattray, on the one side, and Irwine, on the other, represented the two extremes. Rattray had been sensible of the defects of the English Communion Office "long before the starting of this controversy in England or that I had seen the excellent performance of the learned Mr Johnson on the Christian sacrifice³"; Irwine, on the other hand, rejected the whole of the Usages as dangerous and unscriptural. Between these two extremes there were Rose himself and Fullerton and Miller who were his suffragans

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 603. Falconar to Rose, 15th May 1718, announcing Peck's arrival. Written from Craighall.

² *Epochs of Scottish Church History*, by various writers, with prefatory note by the Bishop of Edinburgh (1897), chap. xxi, p. 77.

³ Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 48.

in fact, but not in name. The last two prelates were somewhat inconstant, but, generally speaking, were adverse to the Usages. The position of Rose himself is not easy to define. He was accustomed to use the English Office with or without some of the transpositions and additions which were commonly made in Scotland, and at times did not scruple to make use of the Liturgy of 1637. He possessed one very useful quality, which was not much in evidence in the case of the English Non-Jurors, of looking at things from the practical standpoint. The attitude which Rose adopted is suitably represented in a letter addressed by him to Bishop Collier, 16th October 1718¹:

We are obliged to the greater circumspection and slowness in that the most of our clergy (through the scarcity of books) are altogether unacquainted with this controversy; few or none of these are any way fond of these Usages, and our own people entirely averse to them.

Rose saw clearly enough the absurdity of making an appeal on behalf of the Usages to a communion which was only just beginning to revive ordered worship in any form. It is probable that Rose's personal position was on the whole identical with that of Spinckes, at least with the earlier opinions of the last-named prelate. In his letters to Spinckes, Rose frequently expressed his admiration of the contributions made to the controversy by the latter bishop, especially of *No Just Grounds* (Parts I and II).

The details of Peck's doings in Scotland are not very clear. It is evident that he remained in the country for many months, and so far as Bishop Rose was concerned, he may be said to have outstayed any welcome which he received. On 5th April 1718 Rose informed Spinckes that Mr Peck had given him a "journal" of the first meeting of the English bishops on 23rd July 1716². Peck did not, however, give any account of the second meeting, at which the Usages had been rejected by a great majority, and Bishop Rose, when he afterwards received the full account from Bishop Spinckes, expressed some natural indignation at what he considered a deliberate act of concealment. The fact that Peck refused any communion with the local churches in Edinburgh on account of the want of the Usages was a further cause of offence to Bishop Rose, who

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1838.

² College Papers, f. 6, p. 13.

obviously regarded Peck's continued presence in Edinburgh with great distrust. Peck appears to have proceeded to Craighall, where he met Falconar and Rattray. In a letter written from Craighall, 15th May 1718, to Rose, Falconar mentioned the request of Mr Peck for a synodical declaration on the Usages, and expressed a decided opinion that this could not be done. He thought, however, that the Scottish bishops might act as mediators, and urged Rose to write both to Collier and Spinckes¹. Falconar seems to have adhered to his objection to a pronouncement by the Scottish bishops. In a letter dated 29th July 1718, Rose informed Spinckes that he would willingly have given their sense about the disputed points, but one of his colleagues was against that measure².

There was, however, another object which Peck had in view, which especially concerned Scotland, and may have been developed during his long stay in the north. There is a reference to this plan in a letter from Collier to Brett, 10th September 1718³:

Mr Peck has sent me a letter in which he mentions a project of accommodation. It was the same as that which we proposed to our old friends last winter...the re-printing of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 will be proposed, with these alterations or additions... I presume your consent...Mr Campbell and Mr Gadderar will use their interest to make the matter bear.

Fuller particulars are found in a letter from Peck to Falconar written from Edinburgh on the 13th August 1718. Peck begins by reminding Falconar of his expressed desire for the restoration of the four things, if it could be brought about by a "gentle and inoffensive method." Peck's suggested "method" was based upon the assumption that only the Liturgy of King Charles I had civil and ecclesiastical authority in Scotland, and that the English Liturgy only prevailed by "connivance," and because copies of the Scottish Office had become very rare:

Now the only things to be considered are how the poor hearers shall come at the Scottish Liturgy as cheap, and secondly, how some few alterations (to render it still more perfect and primitive) may be made.

There were three suggestions made by Peck. (1) The printing of 10,000 copies of the Church of Scotland Office, *cheap*—some gentleman might perhaps bear the cost. (2) Two alterations would

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 603.

² College Papers, f. 6, p. 15.

³ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 303.

be required: (a) at the offertory there should be added by way of explanation "that is wine mixed with a little pure water"; (b) the words "Militant," etc., should be omitted. These alterations, as explaining a rubric and altering a title of a prayer, would not afford objection to styling it the Church of Scotland Liturgy¹. It may be noted that in 1722 the first of the "wee bookies" appeared in the shape of a reprint of the Communion Office of 1637, although not with the alterations suggested by Peck, who may, nevertheless, be said, with justice, to have a large share in the responsibility for carrying to Scotland a controversy on the Usages which has not entirely died down in the present day.

Peck's long stay in the north came to an end at last. Bishop Rose entrusted to his care letters to Collier, Campbell and Gadderar, which bear the date of 16th October. This was probably the approximate date of Peck's departure from Edinburgh, for on the 30th of the month, Collier informed Brett that "Mr Peck has arrived at last, and though he has not been successful through the whole, yet he has done his part, and done business too²." The "business" to which Collier referred was doubtless Peck's scheme for reprinting the Liturgy of 1637. The letter of Rose to Collier was drawn up in cold and critical terms. Collier was reminded that the circumstances in Scotland entirely prevented any local adoption of the Usages. There then followed a dignified but unmistakable rebuke:

Had these Usages been received only as ancient, laudable, and useful, we might have been at freedom to have gone into some of them (though not all) with little offence either to our clergy or people, but now (as is generally understood here) that they are insisted on as necessary and to that height also that a most unhappy schism is formed amongst yourselves about them, we are thereby put under almost insupportable difficulties and disadvantages, for by our going into these practices we shall be construed to have gone in also to that rigorous tenet by which both your Church and ours seem sorely discarded and given up for nothing.

Rose then develops the thought that Presbyterians and Papists rejoice at these divisions and that the "whole body of the Re-

¹ See Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1039. Bishop Dowden describes this suggestion of Peck as a disingenuous trick (*Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 63).

² Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 327.

formed" is seriously affected. The conclusion of the matter is that the Scottish bishops can do nothing but pray that some scheme for reconciliation may be devised "whereby you may return to a mutual communion."

The letter to Campbell was very short and merely repeated that any definite action taken by the Scottish bishops would be a dangerous and fatal step. Rose was perfectly well aware of Campbell's standpoint, and attempted nothing in the way of argument with him. Bishop Gadderar, however, was regarded as a more reasonable person, and Rose's letter to him was long and cordial:

I heartily wish that you may prove a happy mean of qualifying those high sounding expressions respecting these ancient Usages by which the very being of the Church is struck at....Many defects which need much to be rectified ought to be comported with for avoiding both the intolerable mischief of schism; unity being in itself greatly agreeable and pleasant, more edifying to the Church, more acceptable to God, and of more importance to the main and most essential purposes of religion than some less necessary truths or practices not exactly clear as indispensably needful.

Rose concluded with a commendation of the moderation which Gadderar had shown in the dispute¹.

Peck's visit to the north cannot be regarded as a success, but there remains to be told the story of an attempt made from Scotland to find a formula of reconciliation between the two separated communions in England. By desire of the Bishop of Edinburgh, proposals were drawn up by Thomas Rattray of Craighall. These suggestions appear to have been first made in the year 1718, and were drawn up in more definite form in December of the following year. The argument begins with a statement that "the object of the Sacraments is to unite Christians in a visible society²." The original institution and primitive practice ought to be adhered to, and if defects have been discovered they should be remedied. Long-established prejudices should be recognized, and no schism must be made. The English bishops made the mistake of imposing terms on the other side—if they could not have communicated they might at least have acknowledged each other as colleagues. Attendance at offices other than the Eucharist ought to present

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1838.

² This statement was regarded as inadequate on both sides and was not acceptable either to Collier or Spinckes as it stood.

no difficulty. Rattray added some proposals for a joint Communion for special occasions. This was a matter of great difficulty, as Rattray recognized that the Usagers would not communicate by the established liturgy as it stood. What he suggested was the use of the first Liturgy of Edw. VI, or of the present liturgy with the addition of a form of Oblation and Invocation. In conclusion, Rattray made a vigorous protest against the idea that the Non-Juror bishops had no authority to dispense on occasion with canons and rubrics. "Without this power no society can subsist."

Bishop Rose wrote on the 18th February 1719/20, acknowledging the receipt of the pamphlet, and praising its conciliatory tone. He thought, however, that the "heat of the English parties would have to abate." This was a true forecast, for the reception of the proposals by the parties in England was not flattering¹. It was perhaps not a matter of surprise that Spinckes should find a difficulty in accepting proposals which were drawn by an advanced Usager, who had, moreover, severely criticized Spinckes' attitude to the tradition of the first few centuries. There is no record of any consideration of the proposals by the presbyters of the communion of Spinckes, but there are preserved two letters from Spinckes himself to Falconar which throw some light upon the matter. In July 1718 Spinckes merely stated that the terms which were suggested could not be complied with, and in a letter written two years later, there is evident reference to Rattray's completed scheme. "This will be considered, if it is consistent with our obligation to observe the orders and injunctions of the Church whereof we are members." It is certain that Collier called a special meeting of his presbyters to consider the scheme of Rattray which was formally submitted on behalf of the Scottish bishops by Campbell and Gadderar. The date appears to have been about July 1721. The scheme met with great opposition from Laurence and other members of the extreme party, and this led to some correspondence between Brett and Laurence in which the latter was severely

¹ For the proposals themselves see College Papers, f. 6.

The references for general information on this subject are as follows: Bishop Dowden's Pocket Book, p. 41, Spinckes to Falconar, 12th July 1718. Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1188, Spinckes to Falconar, 19th August 1720; No. 1207, Collier to Falconar (1720); No. 284, Campbell to the College Bishops, 13th April 1722, "The first year of your pontificate." Brett MSS., vol. iv, f. 339, Brett to Laurence, 28th November 1721.

rebuked for treating the Scottish bishops as "no better than ciphers in the Church." On the whole, it may be concluded that both Collier and Spinckes were not entirely opposed to the scheme of Rattray, but were overruled as usual by those who are constantly denounced as "hot heads."

The failure to come to any agreement was followed by a meeting of the presbyters of Collier on the 22nd July 1721, at which a "Canon" was made forbidding the laity to join with the opposite party in any service whatever¹. This decision was reported by Collier to Brett in a letter written in August of the same year. Brett's reply was decidedly frigid in tone:

As to what you say that for allowing our people to go to their common service it was determined in the negative at the last meeting, I can only say that I am sorry for it, though it be no more than I expected. You add that this is no more than the same resolution with that passed with my approbation about a year and a half ago. I well remember it passed then, and I acquiesced in it as the resolution of the body, but I neither approved of it then or since².

Brett contented himself with making this protest. As a matter of fact he was compelled to admit that the difference between Collier and himself did not actually arise in point of fact, because of the continued refusal of the other side to make any concessions. The opinion of the laity of the Non-Jurors was not often recorded, and there may be mentioned two letters from a distinguished layman who was reckoned on the Usages' side of the controversy but warmly approved of Brett's efforts. On 13th January 1721/22, John Cotton wrote to Brett as follows:

Mr Jebb has lately informed me that Mr Campbell joins with yourself, Mr Gadderar, and our friends of the Scottish Church to promote a reconciliation, at least so far as that we may join in those offices, which have no relation to the matters in dispute³.

¹ See Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 277. Laurence to Brett, 4th October 1731. Thomas Wagstaffe refers to this "Canon" in a letter 12 October 1731 (*ibid.* f. 289). "Mr Collier directed us not to let the people go to the ordinary prayers of our old friends. But it was never entered in the register as a 'Canon' by Mr Deacon who was then Registrarius and besides at this very time Mr Collier refused to declare our old friends schismatics." This letter is important as showing that Wagstaffe did not become keeper of the Church Records until the departure of Thomas Deacon for Manchester in 1722.

² Brett MSS., vol. XVI, f. 161.

³ *Ibid.* vol. IV, f. 361.

A further letter from the same correspondent is dated 4th April 1722:

I am sorry to find by their manner of treating both you and Mr Campbell that the same passion and heat still possesses Mr Deacon and Mr Laurence... 'twas that fiery temper which under the specious name of zeal pushed on our unhappy separation¹.

It is due to Collier's memory to state that he set his hand to proposals of a more liberal character than those which were insisted upon by his impetuous followers. The date of this document is the 23rd November 1722². It was regarded by Thomas Brett (who countersigned the statement) as of great importance. It is curiously worded, but it gives certain conditions which Collier would permit to those who were considered orthodox members of his communion. Collier stated that he would not blame those who (1) asked the blessing of the Non-Juring bishops who refused to use the four things; (2) refrained from accusations of schism unless in self-defence; (3) arranged reciprocal joining in offices where we agree.

The continuance of the schism within the body of the Non-Jurors naturally increased the anxiety which was felt at the contemplation of a possible failure in the preservation of the Episcopal succession. This was clearly manifested in the number of consecrations which were effected during the next twenty years. Each side obviously thought it necessary to act without reference to the other bishops, with whom all communion had ceased. It was not so much that Episcopal ministrations were necessary; it is probable in fact that some of the bishops of the later succession never exercised the Episcopal Office. The idea was that the succession must at all costs be preserved in the hope that "happier times might sooner or later arrive." The possibility of extinction was brought much nearer by the separation. The Non-Usagers were but three in number, and could not therefore afford to take any risks. The Usagers, being represented only by Collier and Brett, were in an even worse case, but they could count upon the assistance of Campbell and, for a time at least, of Gadderar, who still remained in London. The Non-Usagers had indeed made a move at an early date, and a quotation is made once more from Dr Brett's own records:

RALPH TAYLOR, D.D., was consecrated in Dr Rawlinson's Oratory in his chambers at Gray's Inn on St Paul's Day, 1720/21, by

¹ Brett MSS., vol. v, f. 3.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1205.

Samuel Hawes, N. Spinckes, and Henry Gandy, in the presence of Henage, Earl of Winchilsea, Mr (since Sir) R. Cotton, and Thomas Bell, Jno. Blackburne, presbyters.

HILKIAH BEDFORD, M.A., was consecrated by the same bishops at the same time and place.

The newly consecrated bishops may be said to be old and broken men. Bedford had only recently been released from prison and Taylor is always spoken of as greatly weakened both in body and in mind. Neither of the prelates long survived his consecration. Bedford's eldest daughter became the wife of George Smith of Burnhall, who will shortly appear in these pages.

The death of Dr Taylor took place on the 26th December 1722, but in the summer of that year, he had taken upon himself to consecrate two bishops, *solus* and contrary to the advice of his colleagues. Brett's account of this matter is as follows:

Dr Taylor proposed to his colleagues to consecrate Dr Robert (*sic*) Welton and Mr John Talbot, who for some years, had been a Missionary in one of our English plantations in America, particularly at Burlington in New Jersey. But they refused Dr Welton because, though he had been deprived of his living of Whitechapel for refusing the oaths, yet they thought his morals not unexceptional, and thought his behaviour had been imprudent¹, and Talbot they rejected as no Non-Juror. However, Dr Taylor, by himself alone, proceeded to consecrate Welton, and he and Welton consecrated Talbot, but the other Non-Jurors never acknowledged either of them as bishops. However, Welton got him an Episcopal seal and went to Pennsylvania, and getting subscriptions began to build a church and to act as a bishop. But Dr Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, being informed of Welton's proceedings, procured an order from King George to oblige him to return to England. The Doctor retreated to Portugal and died at Lisbon in the year 1726. I cannot say what became of Talbot. The newspapers spoke of him as being commanded to return from America to England at the same time as Welton received such a command, but he was mentioned no more. I suppose therefore he made a submission to the Bishop of London, laid aside his pretences to the episcopal character, and as he had taken the oaths and was ready to take them again, it is probable he was permitted to continue where he was.

¹ One of Welton's "imprudencies" was concerned with the affair of the Altar piece in his church at Whitechapel. The subject was the Last Supper, and the artist was instructed to depict Bp Burnet as Judas, but in the end White Kennett was selected for this honour.

The account given by Brett may be regarded as sufficient so far as the career of Welton is concerned, but the question of Talbot requires some considerable correction and consideration. A memorandum was made in 1766 by Nicholas Brett, younger son of Thomas Brett, on the back of the sheet which contained his father's record:

Talbot was a Non-Juror in the State but not in the Church, and continued in the plantations to the day of his death. He was, as Mr Owen tells me, a quiet, inoffensive, jocose man. The Governors always winked at him, and he received a pension from the Society to the last as one of their missionaries. He was sent over in Queen Anne's time by Mr Nelson's interest, who did it because he would not take the oaths, but whether he practised as a bishop after Welton was recalled, I know not. Burnet, the Governor of New York, knew he was a bishop. He never prayed for the King by name. Being asked by Burnet one day in a large company why he did not pray for King George, he answered he thought him old enough to pray for himself. Notwithstanding this answer Burnet was not angry with him and always made him welcome.... This I had from Mr Owen, many years Chaplain to the garrison of New York, and now (1766) Rector of Conington in Hunts.

In the year 1702 the newly founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent George Keith as its first missionary to America in a vessel named the *Centurion*, the chaplain of which was one John Talbot, concerning whose life many details are known with certainty. He was born at Wymondham in Norfolk in 1645, proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge, and became Fellow of Peterhouse. He was already 57 years of age when he took service under the S.P.G., but threw himself into the work with great zeal and success. In 1705 he returned to England with a numerous signed petition to the Society for the establishment of an episcopate for the colonies, and returned to America in 1707. During the latter years of Queen Anne serious consideration was given to this scheme in Government circles, but the accession of George I practically brought the matter to an end. Talbot, however, continued to press the urgent need for the episcopate. There is evidence that he came into touch with Bishop Frampton, the deprived of Gloucester¹, and in 1713 he wrote three letters to Robert Nelson. It will be noted that in Nicholas Brett's account Talbot is said to have been sent over in "Mr Nelson's interest." There is a strong probability that

¹ Talbot was presented to the living of Fretherne in 1695 but seems not to have resided there.

Talbot came more and more into touch with the sentiments of the Non-Jurors during the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne. In the month of June 1720 he made another journey to England and returned to Burlington for the last time in November 1722. These facts are indisputable, but doubt has been expressed on the question of the identity of John Talbot with the man who was consecrated by Bishop Taylor in 1722. It is without doubt a striking fact that although many subsequent letters of Talbot are extant he never again referred to the question of the episcopate. On the other hand there are, henceforward, repeated references made by others to the fact that Talbot had himself received episcopal consecration. It is not possible in this place to give more than a brief summary of these references, but the following may be noted: (1) In July 1724, in a report made to the Bishop of London by Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, mention is made of the fact that "some of these Non-Juring clergymen pretend to the authority and office of bishops in the Church." (2) In a letter of one Urmston, a deprived parson, to the Bishop of London, 29th September 1724, it is stated that "Mr Talbot convened all the clergy to meet him, put on his robes and demanded episcopal obedience from them." (3) Governor Burnet wrote to the Bishop of London, 3rd August 1724, "Mr Talbot has had the folly to confess to some who have published it that he is a bishop."

The following is a copy of the official record made by the S.P.G. in 1730 of the circumstances concerning Talbot:

Talbot came over to England about the year 1719 and returned afterwards to New Jersey. But the Society received advices that he had fallen into an open disaffection to the present happy Establishment, and had neglected to use the prayers in the Liturgy for the King and Royal Family; upon which he was immediately discharged the Society's mission. He died there in 1727.

A permanent record of Talbot's work has been made in the Old Church at Burlington. The impression of his seal has been photographed and it has been reproduced in a monument on the wall of the church; below in black and red letters, is the following inscription:

John Talbot, Founder of this Church 1703:
A Bishop by Non-Juror Consecration 1722:
Died in Burlington November 29th, 1727.

The only intelligible inference to be drawn from these facts is that John Talbot of Burlington is to be identified with the man who received episcopal orders from Bishop Taylor in 1722, and he may therefore be regarded in some sense, as an irregular predecessor of Bishop Seabury¹.

Information concerning a phase in the life of Thomas Brett, which has not been previously known, may be appropriately related in this place. In the year 1723 (the exact date is not preserved) Brett wrote to Campbell:

I have long and often had it in my thoughts to go some time and settle myself in some of the plantations of America. I have considered that the Clergy sent over thither have generally been either ignorant or debauched, or perhaps both, and that there were but few that were men of character for either probity or learning who would be prevailed upon to go thither, though I believe some have. For which reasons, had I not had a wife and family, I should many years ago have offered myself to those who are trusted with sending missionaries thither. But the late Act of Parliament about taking the oaths or resigning estates will so deeply touch the little I have to provide myself and family that I can think of no better method than to put off what I have here, and transport myself and family to those parts...the colony I have fixed on in my own thoughts is Carolina, because I have a notion that the Earl of Shaftesbury fixed the Laws for that province and vested so much power in the proprietors and planters that the Governor sent from hence has much less authority in that province, than in any of the others.

Brett concludes by asking Campbell, "who has already been in those parts," to advise him². Family reasons, in addition to those given by Brett, contributed to the choice of the colony of Carolina. Brett's eldest daughter had married a man of the name of Kennett. It was not a happy affair, and at the time under consideration, the young couple found it necessary to leave England owing to financial straits, and had taken refuge in this same colony. Mrs Kennett's stay in America was very short. She returned to England in 1725,

¹ The writer is under obligations to Mr H. P. K. Skipton, whose article in *East and West*, July 1921, contains a very complete account of John Talbot. There appeared a valuable article on Talbot in the first volume of the *Scottish Church Review* 1884, from which some of the information detailed above has been taken.

² Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 29. The reference is to Campbell's sojourn in Surinam or Dutch Guiana.

leaving behind her a husband, who had apparently fallen on evil days and presumably died on the other side of the water¹. Campbell strongly dissuaded Brett from the idea of going abroad.

I perceive that your daughter writes to you that she is desirous to have you there. I hope she will not prevail, for the people are indeed very luxurious and wicked all over our plantations in America... Besides Bishop Welton's story and behaviour is such that it affects all the plantations far and near, for the Bishop of London has sent directions to all of them to watch him².

In a further letter Campbell begs Brett to consider the health of the Primus, "who is not likely to go out again." Other friends joined in discouraging Brett from this project. Samuel Jebb assured Brett that "the difficulties with the Government would be more serious than here." Baron Gilbert, Brett's kinsman, wrote in the same strain. There are some phrases in one of the letters, which Brett addressed to Gilbert, which will show the terms on which he was prepared to have gone out.

If I did go it should be on the same footing as an Independent or Presbyterian Minister goes out, who are not molested by any of the Governors, though they be not (as I suppose) recommended by the Bishop of London. I want none of the Bishop of London's Church there, nor would accept of one to hold it as one of his Presbyters, though he would give it me without taking the oaths³.

The idea of going abroad was eventually abandoned by Brett, but not without great reluctance. His intentions were evidently serious, and he had gone so far as to consult the officials of the S.P.G., as appears from a letter addressed to his young friend and *protégé*, Lee Carrick⁴. In a letter written to Campbell, 9th October 1725, Brett states that the order given to Bishop Welton to return had convinced him that he had done well to stop at home⁵.

The question of the continuance of the "succession" as viewed from the standpoint of Collier and Brett, is now to be considered. As the hopes of reunion faded away, the matter became very urgent,

¹ Mrs Kennett joined the Roman Church about the year 1732, a fact which caused Brett great bitterness of soul, and the relations between father and daughter became very strained. The lady attributed her change of views to the continued disputes among the Non-Jurors.

² Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 17. Campbell to Brett, 12th May 1725.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xviii, f. 11. Brett to Baron Gilbert, 14th March 1723/24.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. vi, f. 89. Brett to Lee Carrick, 18th September 1725.

⁵ College Papers, f. 1, p. 209. Letters of Brett to Campbell.

if the separate organization of the Usagers was to be maintained on any secure basis. There was no difficulty about the choice of the person to be added to the episcopate. John Griffin of Merton College, and Sarsden, was, it appears, recommended by Collier to Brett, who gave a ready consent. Letters which passed between the two bishops do, nevertheless, manifest a considerable difference of opinion and are not quite free from signs of animosity. The consecration could only be effected canonically by calling upon Campbell for his assistance, and Collier was at this time at the height of his suspicion of Campbell concerning his doctrine of "purification" in the "Middle State." To such an extent did Collier's reluctance to resort to Campbell prevail that he was prepared to consecrate Griffin *solus*. On the 27th October 1722, Brett wrote as follows:

As to what you propose about Mr Griffin, I readily consent to it. But I cannot conveniently come to town till after Christmas. However, if you have three without me I desire you not to wait for me. But I beg you will not do anything of this kind under three. Not that I do not think two or even one sufficient in case of necessity. I would not give our adversaries any advantage¹.

On the 8th November, Brett wrote in more peremptory terms to Campbell.

When Mr S. sent to desire my consent, I freely gave it as to the person, but I particularly insisted that it should not be done without three, though I had then no apprehension that he intended to do it *solus*. And therefore if he should do it, he cannot say he has my consent. He has since wrote to me to come to town forthwith, but I have sent an excuse and acquainted him as I did in my former that I cannot come till after Christmas, and have also desired that, against that time, another may be sent for from the North, that I may not have two journeys...Perhaps he may write a little more peremptorily in his next and tell me if I will not come he will do it singly by himself, but I shall be as peremptory and let him know that, if he does proceed by himself, I shall neither act with him hereafter nor with the person he so puts upon us, nor with any one else who shall own that person as duly and regularly brought in, for I can never consent that such an

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 263. Brett to Collier. The envelope in which this letter was enclosed has been preserved and is interesting as containing Collier's full address. "These to Mr Smith, at Mr Ridgebills, at the corner of Lamb's Conduit Passage in Red Lion Street, near Holborn."

advantage should be given against us, with regard to the papists or our other adversaries who will properly object this matter to us...and therefore till you and Mr S. are agreed I shall not stir. There shall be three or I will not be in it¹.

Collier gave way in the end, and both Brett and Griffin made their way to town for the Consecration. Brett's record is as follows:

JOHN GRIFFIN, M.A., was consecrated on 25th November 1722 at Mr Collier's Oratory in Red Lion Street, Holborn, in London, by Jer. Collier, Arch. Campbell and Tho. Brett, in the presence of Roger Laurence and Tho. Wagstaffe, presbyters; George James, printer, and Thos. Hurdman, Gent.

John Griffin was in many ways one of the most distinguished of the later Non-Juror bishops. He had a strong sense of the responsibilities of the Episcopal Office and during the remaining ten years of his life rendered very considerable service to the cause, especially at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Some details of Griffin's arduous ministry in the north will be related in the next chapter.

Some important changes in the *personnel* of the movement on both sides, brought about by death or removal, demand a brief notice. The departure from London in the latter part of the year 1722 of Bishop Gadderar, in order to take up the work of administering the diocese of Aberdeen, belongs strictly to the story of the Scottish section of the movement. On the 10th May 1721, the presbyters of the diocese or district of Aberdeen had elected, by a small majority, Archibald Campbell as their bishop. This was not reported to the College of Bishops until the 2nd August. The bishops had some correspondence with Campbell, but as they were Anti-Usagers and Campbell had expressed his inability to communicate at any time with those who would not practise the "four things," no definite result could be expected. In the course of an acrimonious correspondence Campbell described Fullerton as Pope, and Miller and Irwine as his Cardinals, and the bishops refused to confirm the election. The right to the see of Aberdeen was, however, maintained by Campbell though he never had the slightest intention of administering it in person, and on 24th January 1722/23 he nominated James Gadderar to act as his representative. Gadderar duly proceeded to Scotland, where he was hospitably received and materially assisted by Lord Arbuthnot. Gadderar's manner

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 269. No date.

of performing his "circuits," starting from Arbuthnot House, is described as exceedingly impressive¹. The other bishops were greatly alarmed by the presence in their midst of an advanced Usager who came, moreover, as the representative of an absent bishop whose title had been rejected by them. Lockhart, the Prince's agent, as the representative of Erastianism, was naturally opposed to the advent of a bishop who could claim no recognition by the civil power. The disputes were allayed for a time by a Concordate which was made on the 4th July 1724. A full account is given of this agreement in a letter written by Irwine to Spinckes four days later²:

John, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Primus, convocated James Gadderar, Arthur Miller, Will. Irwine, Andrew Cant, and David Freebairn....Bishop Gadderar made the following concessions and declarations. (1) He was willing to receive the unmixed cup at the hands of his brethren. (2) He promised not to mix publicly in future. (3) As the bishops have allowed the Scottish Liturgy to all who desire it, Gadderar promised not to introduce any other of the ancient Usages unless lawfully ordered. (4) The bishops gave Gadderar authority to act as Bishop of Aberdeen provided he did not ascribe his officiating to any delegation or substitution from any other person. (5) These articles being arranged for peace, it was not to be assumed that the Primus and the other bishops approved of the mixture.

It was perhaps only natural that Irwine should describe the agreement as an act of submission, but the proposals may be considered as honourable to both sides, although Gadderar's "moderation" was not very acceptable to his nominator in London. On the 3rd April 1725, Campbell drew up a formal deed of resignation in favour of Gadderar, whose story is for the remaining eight or ten years of his life, solely concerned with his native country.

The Non-Usagers suffered about this same time a heavy loss in the death of Samuel Hawes, which took place at Lord Winchilsea's country house at Eastwell on 22nd September 1722. Hearne has a word to say of Hawes, "a very honest man, being a Non-Juror." This double description is quite in Hearne's style, the inference being, of course, that the one term implied the other.

¹ *Epochs of Scottish Church History*, chap. xxi, p. 97.

² *College Papers*, f. 6, p. 86.

Brett mentioned the death of Hawes in a letter written to Charles Wheatly:

Mr Doughty came down to bury Mr Hawes and stayed there about a week, in which he and Mr George Smith (the Editor of Bede) made me a visit. Mr Smith has been at my Lord's awhile and visited me often, and though they are both very zealous against our alterations, we are very civil and enter into no disputes¹.

One of the most distinguished members of the later communion of the Non-Jurors enters into the scene at this point. For the purpose of introducing George Smith of Burnhall, Durham, one of Hearne's gossiping remarks may be quoted:

August 26th, 1727. On Wednesday last, Dr Jos. Smith, called upon me...a younger brother to the late learned Dr John Smith, Prebendary of Durham, who put out Bede's Ecclesiastical History in Latin and Saxon, which was finished at the press by his son, Mr George Smith. The said Mr G. S., son of the aforesaid, is an ingenious man and an excellent scholar. He married about four years ago a daughter of Mr Hilkiah Bedford, and lives retiredly with her in the country in a very serious manner².

John and Joseph Smith, father and uncle of the man who took such a large part in the later story of the Non-Jurors, were members of a family of eleven brothers, all of whom attained to some distinction. Joseph Smith was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Nothing is known of the circumstances under which George Smith joined the Non-Jurors, but he was not in orders at the time of his first visit to Spring Grove in 1722. The meeting of Brett and Smith deserves some notice in view of the very close friendship which was afterwards established between the two men.

The death of Bishop Taylor on the 26th December 1722 has already been noted, and the Non-Usagers suffered a further serious loss in the death of Bishop Bedford on the 26th November 1724, who was buried in St Margaret's churchyard near to Dr Hikes. It will be seen that there now only remained two bishops on the side of the Non-Usagers, Spinckes and Gandy, and a further development was confidently expected by the bishops on the other side, but the form which it actually took was a matter of some surprise. It may be well, however, before relating the story of the next consecration (in which the Scottish bishops were intimately

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 247.

² Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. ix, p. 343. 26th August 1727.

concerned) to note the disappearance from London of two of the more fiery spirits among the younger clergy. Francis Peck's zeal for the cause seems to have vanished after his unsuccessful journey to Scotland. He married a widow and retired to the country¹. There are references to a controversy which Peck had with certain Baptists in this same year, but the remaining information concerning him is all written in the same strain. Campbell wrote to Brett giving some information of both Peck and Deacon:

Mr Deacon is now secularised six days of the week which he employs in physic but on Sundays he officiates as a Clergyman... Mr Peck is altogether a physician and if the character is delible has dropped the priest entirely².

Deacon refers to Peck and his wife in a similar strain: "Mr Peck and his spouse live in the country and we seldom see them here. Mr S. and my mother present their very humble service, etc."³ In January 1724/25 Campbell reported to Brett that "the ingenious Mr Peck is dead⁴." Some facts of Peck's later life had evidently been known to Brett who made the following reply to Campbell's letter: "I am afraid that our friend Peck shortened his days by living apace. I hope he considered it before his death⁵."

Thomas Deacon took to himself a wife at the end of 1719 or the beginning of 1720 and announced the news to Brett in characteristic style: "I suppose you have heard by this time that I have changed the single life for the social state of matrimony⁶." The lady's name was Sarah Gamon, daughter of Robert Gamon of Smithfield and Datchworth, Herts. Gamon was, at the period under review, practising as an apothecary at Smithfield. It appears from a letter addressed by Brett to "The Reverend Mr Thomas Deacon, at Mr Gamon's, West Smithfield," that the young couple lived with Mr Gamon in the early days of their marriage. A curious remark is made by Hearne to the effect that "Mr Deacon married young and unhappily⁷." It is certain that the marriage was not unhappy in the sense in which the word is commonly used. The writer has

¹ Brett MSS., vol. iv, f. 53. Wagstaffe to Brett, 24th September 1719.

² *Ibid.* f. 389. Brett to Campbell, 15th February 1721/22.

³ *Ibid.* f. 69. T. Deacon to Brett, 10th Nov. 1719.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16th January 1724/25.

⁵ College Papers, f. 1, p. 165. Correspondence of Brett and Campbell.

⁶ Brett MSS., vol. iv, f. 105. Deacon to Brett, 21st January 1719/20.

⁷ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. x, p. 448.

had the opportunity of examining some family papers now in the possession of Miss Mary Deacon, great-great-granddaughter of Humphrey Hierophilus, sixth son of Thomas Deacon. Among these is a letter from "Dr Thomas Deacon, Priest (*sic*) after the death of his wife Sarah," dated Manchester, 19th July 1745, and addressed to his father-in-law:

I have at last got time to write to you more fully upon your loss of the tenderest of daughters, and to me of the fondest, dearest and best of wives...she was one of the best of wives, the most obedient of daughters and the most tender and careful of mothers. Her devotion was unfeigned, fervent and constant, never missing our early Mattins as well as Vespers at 6 o'clock each day, beside her constant attendance on that tremendous Sacrifice of the Eucharist on all Sundays and Holy days.

These quotations will suffice from a letter in which the mellowed and more attractive character displayed by Deacon in his later years is clearly shown. There is nothing known with certainty of the reasons which caused Deacon to settle in Manchester. There is in existence a letter from Samuel Jebb, written to Brett, on the 22nd February 1722, which obviously refers to Mr Deacon's private affairs and to some plan which his friends were devising for his benefit, but no definite meaning can be deduced from it. Deacon left London for Manchester in the summer of 1722. His life in the latter city has been told with some completeness elsewhere. The following letter which Deacon addressed to Brett as his Primus in the year 1727, may be read with some interest:

I would not have you think that I quitted Divinity for Physic, for I think I can say I have been as diligent in the priestly calling as if I wore a gown and cassock. I have made no secret of my character or communion, but have taken all pains to spread them. Indeed people here have little true religion in them; so that I have not been able to make one convert, though I hope I have not been wanting in prudent endeavours which I am still continuing¹.

Deacon had held the position of Registrar or Keeper of the Church Records, in which office he was succeeded by Thomas Wagstaffe, who also, at Collier's command, took over the charge of

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 21. Deacon to Brett, 4th June 1727.

Deacon's congregation at Dunstan's Court, Fleet Street¹. This chapel was served by Wagstaffe for ten years, after which it came into the possession of the new communion which adhered to Campbell, on whose death, in 1744, it fell once more under the jurisdiction of Thomas Deacon as the surviving bishop of the latest separation.

The action which Spinckes and Gandy took in the matter of filling the vacant places in the Episcopate may now be considered. Brett's record is as follows:

Dr Taylor and Mr Bedford dying before the gentlemen of that side had consecrated more, Mr Spinckes and Mr Gandy, being the only surviving bishops of that party, would not consecrate another, both the ancient canons of the Universal Church and the Laws of the Church of England requiring at least three bishops to consecrate a bishop. HENRY DOUGHTY, M.A., was chosen by them and sent into Scotland and was consecrated at Edinburgh on Tuesday, March 30th, 1725, by John Fullerton, Bishop of Edinburgh, Arthur Miller, William Irwine, and David Freebairn.

The Scottish bishops who took part in this consecration were "college" bishops and Anti-Usagers, and their action caused considerable resentment to the Diocesan and Usager party of whom Thomas Rattray and Robert Keith were leading representatives. Letters which passed between these two presbyters, who were both advanced to the Episcopate in 1727, will be noted with interest. On the 31st March 1725, Keith wrote to Rattray informing him of Doughty's presence in Edinburgh.

Bishop Irwine knew so well of his coming that having gone out of town for some days he left orders to call him express how soon Mr Doughty should cast up here, and yesterday the secret is all discovered by an accidental demand for the use of my gown for a short space by the hands of my ordinary's servant, who told me that Mr Doughty was just then about to be consecrated².

Rattray's reply to this letter is dated 12th April 1725:

I give you most hearty thanks for informing me of what has been lately doing in your city. I think it very unwarrantable, for

¹ See Letter from Thomas Wagstaffe to Brett, 11th September 1722 (Brett MSS., vol. v, f. 41): "I forgot to tell you that Mr Smith has desired me to take Mr Deacon's congregation and our deacon has received priest's orders and taken my congregation." Wagstaffe's successor was W. Weldon Ford, who was ordained deacon 20th June 1721 and priest 6th September 1722 by Mr Collier. See Rawlinson's *Ordinations*.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 823.

they ought by no means to have intruded themselves as parties in English divisions, far less to have espoused the wrong side... how far they thereby involved themselves and their communion in the guilt of these divisions I shall not take upon me to determine, though I am sure it would have been safer to have stood clear of it... I shall very soon acquaint Bishop Gadderar with it, but will withal advise him to conceal his knowing it and to take no notice of it; it might do harm and it can do no good, as we are at present situated. The Bishop of Edinburgh indeed notified his retraction of his late deed, and declares how he was imposed upon in it. I wish it would make him more careful for the future¹.

The secret soon came out in England also. Archibald Campbell, who appears to have possessed a talent for discovering anything which other people desired to keep secret, announced the news to Brett on the 12th May 1725:

Our quondam friends having but two bishops...sent Mr Doughty to Edinburgh recommended to the bishops there who are on their side and by whom he was consecrated...this was to be a great secret but it soon came out. Yet I think I was the first that way not in the secret, who knew it here. I then went to Mr Spinckes, and asked him if Mr Doughty had not been in Scotland. He said he had been in the North and was willing to evade, but I put it to him and would have a positive answer, which at last I had. I told him withal then that I had a full account of it. Then I asked him why they chose him who could not read English and knows not a comma from a colon. He said they could get no other of their number to undertake the journey. Then I said I perceived the being a jockey was a principal qualification for a bishop on their side. So now that they are again three I doubt not that we shall have generals enough, though there should be no other officers under them².

These depreciatory remarks of Doughty can scarcely be justified. The few letters from his pen which are preserved in the Brett MSS. do not convey the impression of being written by a man of inferior education. Campbell had probably not forgiven Doughty for "turning his coat" at the celebrated Conference of 27th July 1716. Doughty's part in the story was slight. He died on the 19th January 1730 and was buried at the "East end" of Paddington Churchyard.

¹ Campbell's expectation that more would be heard of "our old

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1591.

² Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 17.

friends" was certainly justified, for there were two more consecrations in the earlier part of this year:

JOHN BLACKBURNE was consecrated on Ascension Day, May 6th, 1725, by Nathaniel Spinckes, Henry Gandy and Henry Doughty in Dr Rawlinson's Oratory at his chambers in Gray's Inn, London, in the presence of John Creyk, R. Rawlinson, Henry Hall, presbyters; Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea, Sir T. L'Estrange, Bart., Thos. Martyn, gent, William Bowyer, Senior, printer¹.

John Blackburne's career as a Non-Juror bishop extended over sixteen years. The part which he played in the forthcoming re-union negotiations was strange and incomprehensible, as will be seen from additional information which will be submitted in the following chapters.

The particulars of the second consecration are as follows:

HENRY HALL was consecrated on Friday, the Feast of Saint Barnabas, June 11th, 1725, by Nathaniel Spinckes, Henry Gandy, Henry Doughty, and John Blackburne, at Dr Rawlinson's Oratory in his chambers in Gray's Inn, London, in the presence of John Creyk, Joseph Hall, William Law, presbyters; George Bewe, Thomas Martyn, gents; W. Bowyer, Senior, printer².

Hall died in November 1731. His influence on the movement was not very great.

It is obvious that Spinckes and Gandy were taking no more risks; their number had now been raised to five, all of whom resided in or near London.

The closing years of Collier's life were marked by a further series of efforts to achieve a re-union. Bishop Francis Atterbury, who had been compelled to leave England in 1722, lent his influence to the healing of the schism. The correspondence with Atterbury appears to have been entrusted to Samuel Jebb. In a memorandum made by Nicholas Brett on the 19th September 1760 reference is made to an article written by Dr Thomas Brett, as a rough draft, to Dr Jebb on the 29th June 1723 to be shown to Bishop Atterbury in Paris for his approbation. This was entitled "The best method

¹ The name of John Creyk as one of the witnesses should be noted. Creyk had succeeded Bishop Hawes as Chaplain to Lord Winchilsea. He took an aggressive part in the controversy which culminated in 1732.

² Rawlinson's record states that Hall was consecrated in Mr Blackburne's chapel. Law was only a deacon at this time. It is obvious that Dr Brett's MS. account was to some extent drawn up from memory. The name of John Blackburne, as one of the consecrators, does not appear in the original document.

to procure Catholic Unity on Catholic Principles." It appears to have been consigned to Collier's care, and it fell into the hands of Thomas Deacon on the death of his mother in 1733. An extraordinary use of this paper was made by Deacon as will be related in due course. There is preserved a letter which Brett wrote to Jebb on the subject:

You may tell Bishop Atterbury that when I was last in town to make any stay there, Mr Campbell, Mr Gadderar and I waited on Mr Spinckes at his own house, and desired of him that our people might pray with him and his people with us in all matters wherein we agreed, but he refused.

Brett answered:

You deal with us more severely than you do with those who comply, for your people freely go to the compliers and the compliers come to you. But he made no answer¹.

Brett's differences with Collier on the subject of re-union were sharpened as Collier's life drew to its close. Brett's theory was that he saw a distinction between a schism caused by a usurping bishop, which must be total, and that which was caused by a defective office, which need not be more than partial. If the opposite side would but celebrate occasionally as the Usagers desired, it would be possible to communicate with them. Collier's standpoint may be summarized as follows:

How can we communicate with those who fall short in necessary parts of public worship and that in the highest solemnities? I conceive we are to form our judgment concerning our old friends by their declarations and general practice, and not by a single act of inconstancy, supposing they should give way to it. For notwithstanding such a compliance they still adhere to their old way and party, and therefore what way we can either join with them or admit them in the highest solemnities of religion, as long as they continue deficient in necessary points and maintain a revolt from primitive worship, is more than I can understand.

The difference between Collier and Brett was merely speculative owing to the fact that the Non-Usagers refused to give way in any single particular².

In the last few months of Collier's life a further serious attempt

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 10.

² *Ibid.* f. 69. These particulars are extracted from a letter addressed by Brett to T. Mawman, 17th February 1726/27.

was made in this same direction by a presbyter named Lowndes. Some interest is attached to these proposals as they were, to all appearances, made from the side of the Non-Usagers. Collier wrote to Brett on this matter on 17th June 1725:

Mr Lowndes is a person of pretty learning and value, and I believe he has a good interest with our old brethren. He hints pretty plainly that they are not only willing to connive, as they phrase it, at our usage of the four things, but that they will occasionally communicate with us.

Collier submits to Brett that this offer to come to "our altars" implies that the opposite side do not think the things unlawful. Why should they keep open the breach for the sake of indifferent things¹? A letter written by Mr Lowndes, and apparently addressed to Rawlinson, is preserved among the MSS. which bear the name of the latter:

Pray with due application inform our superiors how I have proceeded with Mr Collier, who gave me an opportunity by his desiring me to move on our side for an union. I told him how matters went with Dr Brett and Mr Bedford, who had consented to communicate with each other occasionally, their four Usages being connived at and we adhering to our old practice; which agreement he stood accused of that it took no effect. He seems now to me not to be backward at their using our liturgy in their congregations, only keeping to the four Usages in dispute; and contenting themselves with ours, when we occasionally communicate with one another. I suppose Mr Bedford went not without consent of his brethren when he proposed this way to Dr Brett, and I hope the case is not altered that any one should go back from it. If the things contended for were ordered by a legal authority, I believe nobody would contradict them; a breach upon the constitution not to be suffered and infringing the authority of the Church and State is what keeps us at a distance, as far as I understand, and that we show no consent to their adding these other things to our liturgy. I think it will be no more than was in the Church formerly, and under the different Uses of Sarum etc. before the Reformation; so that since he stated to me in his last letter that they do not look upon the Sacrament as null without them (with which I had charged him), I hope there may be an early way to a reconciliation of our superiors pleased by these concessions to close the fatal breach, which God grant².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 41. Campbell to Brett, 17th June 1725.

² Rawlinson MSS. D. 845, f. 203. The signature is apparently R. Lowndes. There are two men in Overton's list of the name of Ralph Lowndes, one of whom was a "penitent."

There is further reference to these efforts in a letter addressed to Brett by S. Jebb on 7th September 1725: "I am glad to find our friends seem somewhat inclined to an accordment which Mr Smith has been labouring as much as the bad state of his health will give him leave. I pray God grant us all a Christian temper¹." It will be seen that an agreement between the separated bodies was not by any means impossible, but it was not to come in Collier's lifetime. His last letter to Brett is dated 2nd November 1725: "I have a fit of my distemper upon me and therefore cannot help being exceedingly brief....If you have the money you were so kind to pick up for me in trade, be pleased to send it when convenience presents, for it will not come unseasonably to yours etc." The death of Jeremy Collier, which took place on 26th April 1726, was an irreparable loss to the whole body of Non-Jurors. Samuel Jebb forwarded the news on the 28th April: "Mr Collier died last Tuesday morning, to the great grief of us all²." Collier was in his 76th year and had suffered greatly from stone for a considerable period. He was buried in the churchyard of Old St Pancras, but there is nothing to mark the spot where he is laid. The entry in the register is "1726 April 29th. Jeremiah Collier, Clerk."

There broke out after Collier's death a painful controversy which was ill fitted to preserve the more "Christian temper," which men of the type of Jebb and Lowndes so earnestly desired. A report was circulated, particularly in Newcastle and Scotland, to the effect that Collier had on his deathbed expressed regret for the action he had taken in the matter of the Usages, and desired all his friends to return to the communion of the opposite party. There was naturally considerable indignation expressed by Collier's family and friends, and it was proposed to issue a public refutation of the rumour to be signed by Brett and Griffin. The proposal was abandoned at the instance of Mrs Collier, who urged that such a course would be contrary to the wishes of her late husband³. Brett wrote to Gadderar in order to deny the rumours which were prevalent in Scotland:

I do assure you that the report is groundless. I have seen and discoursed with his widow and two presbyters who were with

¹ Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 79. Jebb's relations with Collier were very intimate at this period. He is said to have acted as Collier's librarian.

² *Ibid.* f. 119.

³ A copy of this protestation duly signed by Brett and Griffin is preserved among the Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1194, 25th June 1728.

him when he lay on his deathbed, and understood by them that to the very last he always expressed himself as one that was entirely satisfied and pleased that God had made him an instrument to restore those Usages we practise. And his widow and all those who attended him to his last moments still continue to receive the Holy Eucharist according to the form which he compiled... Our old friends do not stick at such pious frauds¹.

Laurence in his *Indispensable Obligation*² mentions that Mrs Collier told him that some days before her husband's death she received a letter in which he regretted that our old friends had left us. "And I declare, was it to do again, I would never stoop so low to them as I have done." Laurence's testimony in itself is not very reliable, but taken in conjunction with the letter of Brett it is evident that the report of a change in Collier's opinions does not rest on any secure foundation.

The primacy which Collier had held for eleven years was marked by some melancholy incidents, and may perhaps be considered to have been sufficiently estimated in the course of the story. It cannot be denied that Collier allowed himself to be influenced by his wife and his enthusiastic stepson and other members of the extreme party. It is possible also that the charge made against him by his opponents that he was disposed unduly to magnify his office was not entirely without foundation. There is no necessity to attempt any estimate of the character of a man whose name is familiar to many to whom the title of Non-Juror is devoid of meaning. It should, however, be said that in the intimate correspondence which is now available in the Brett MSS. nothing is revealed which throws the slightest doubt on the truth of Macaulay's well-known testimony "that Jeremy Collier was in the full force of the words a good man."

There is appended to this chapter some scattered information relating to congregations of Non-Jurors in Ireland. It is of a fragmentary nature, but is offered in the hope that it may form a basis for some further research. John Rutter, who was ordained by Collier in 1716 seems to have crossed St George's Channel about the year 1721, and on the 7th September 1725 Samuel Jebb wrote to Brett as follows:

Mr Rutter whose health is decaying seems desirous that I should go over into Ireland to take care of the little flock he has

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, f. 65. Brett to Gadderar, 15th July 1728.

² *Indispensable Obligation*, p. 53.

got there. Was there any prospect of increasing their number I should be glad to comply¹.

The next fragment of information is contained in a letter of Thomas Deacon to John Griffin, apparently written in February 1726/27, probably with reference to this same "little flock."

Since my last to you I have received a letter from Mrs Maguire at Dublin in which she has the following words: "Since my last to you I have found the gentleman I wrote to you about. He told me he always makes use of the Mixture, the word Bless in the Consecration, and puts the Oblation Prayer in its proper place, but that he was not of opinion that those things were essential, which the other side insisted on; but that as it was the constant practice of the Primitive Church, he thought it perfectly right to continue the use of them, which he does, and did heartily wish that both sides would agree to use your Form; but since they did not, would only continue to use the things above mentioned; which I own I was glad to hear that though he will not officiate with every particular as he ought, yet we might safely join with him till it pleased God we might have it in its purity. He is a Scotsman ...his name is Denison."

So far Deacon's Irish correspondent. Deacon concludes with the remark that "their case is very hard in Dublin²." He appears to have been in regular communication with this unknown congregation in Dublin both in the lifetime and after the decease of his old friend, John Rutter.

Finally, there is quoted a letter from Collier to Brett written 10th February 1722/23 which must have been penned in a moment of what modern journalists describe as "facile optimism." After a hopeful view of the prospects in Scotland, Collier remarks: "In Ireland, Dean Perceval, Prolocutor, designs to recommend our four things to be brought into that Church at the next Convocation³."

¹ Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 79.

² *Ibid.* f. 283.

³ *Ibid.* vol. v, f. 125. William Percivall (1674-1734) of Christ Church, Oxford, B.A. 1692/93, M.A. 1695, D.D. 1714/15, was Dean of Emly 1714-1734, and Prebendary of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 1720-34.

CHAPTER V

PROPOSALS FOR RE-UNION

DEATH OF SPINCKES—NEW CONSECRATIONS—THOMAS
BRETT, "JUNR"—RAWLINSON AND SMITH—GRIFFIN
IN NEWCASTLE—SMITH'S PROPOSALS FOR RE-UNION

THE little body over which Collier had presided was now in a forlorn condition. The chief bishop on whom the title of Primus seems to have devolved, *jure successionis* rather than by any formal appointment, lived at a distance from London which at that day was thought to be considerable, as involving a journey of some sixty miles. The remaining bishop lived far away to the west in Oxfordshire. It is true that Campbell remained in London, but there was an extraordinary disinclination to accept assistance from that quarter, except under pressure of absolute necessity. Thomas Wagstaffe who acted, so to speak, as Brett's Vicar-General in town, manifested more than once a strong personal repugnance to Campbell. The Non-Usagers, on the other hand, were more fortunate, having four or five bishops resident in or near London. It is probable that the greater part of the small body of the laity adhered to the party of Spinckes and Gandy. It was clearly the strength of this section to sit still and the attitude was fully justified in the result. ✓

Brett and Griffin were immediately concerned with two matters of the first importance. In the first place there was the question of ending the separation and secondly, there was the matter of the continuance of the succession. These two problems were not really separate from each other. On the contrary, they were closely connected and, as a matter of fact, the two bishops endeavoured to solve both these difficulties by means of a policy which kept steadily in view a condition of peace and unity, however far removed. Brett adopted the course of writing to all the opposite bishops, beginning with Spinckes, the senior of the group. The date of his letter was the 16th June 1726. Spinckes had apparently sent Brett a copy of Bishop Hicke's Sermons. In returning thanks, Brett made a quotation from the second Sermon: "What the Universal Church practised and was never enjoined but always used, could be of no institution but the Apostles'." Brett claimed that these words expressed the principle on which he and his friends had acted. He renewed the offers of peace made by Collier, but with an important difference. Collier had required his old friends to

"practise" by the four things, but Brett merely asked that they should be allowed as temporary concessions. The letter containing these proposals was entrusted to the care of John Creyk, who was probably then resident at Eastwell, to whom Brett addressed a few words in a covering letter. "You adhere to the *practice* and we to the *doctrine* of the Church of England, where these differ, is not he who adheres to doctrine as good a friend as the other¹?"

Brett wrote about a month later to Gandy, the second of the opposite bishops. He reminded Gandy of the visit paid to Spring Grove in company with George Smith, since which time he had always looked on Gandy as a true friend. He developed his theory of additional prayers being permissible under the Act of 2 and 3 Edw. VI. He proposed to lay aside the New Office and to say after the Words of Institution the Oblation from the first English Liturgy. A further concession was suggested on this point. Brett suggested that they would accept any prayer of Oblation and Invocation, or the opposite side might, if they please, compose a form of their own. The *Mixture* might be settled by a declaration under the clause, "Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth but doubts may arise in the use, etc." And as to "Militant here on earth," these words were only a title and might surely be dispensed with. The letter concluded with a strongly expressed desire for unity. If these concessions could be made Mr Spinckes should then assume the title of Primus of the whole body². This reference to a declaration under the clause "Forasmuch" is worth noting, in view of the fact that the settlement of 1732 was really based on a declaration of this nature.

It was hoped for some little time that a Union might be arranged, and if this could have been effected the matter of the succession would not have required immediate attention. It was not possible, however, wholly to lay it on one side. John Griffin had spent some time in town since the death of Collier. On 12th May 1726 he wrote to Brett earnestly desiring to see him: "If you please to let me know when your business takes you to Feversham, I will endeavour to give you the meeting there, which I suppose I may easily do by water³." The meeting took place about the end of May

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, ff. 36 and 39.

² *Ibid.* f. 46. Brett to Gandy, 21st July 1726.

³ *Ibid.* vol. VI, f. 129. The name of the town of Faversham is always spelt Feversham in the Brett MSS.

when Griffin went down to Feversham in a "hoy, in as mean a habit as possible to avoid suspicion." The two bishops proceeded to Spring Grove, and apparently decided to defer any immediate action. There was, however, a strong desire for some provision to be made for the appointment of a bishop for the north, and the choice of Brett and Griffin fell upon Abraham Yapp, who was at this time in charge of a congregation in Newcastle. The history of this congregation, as well as that which was served by Timothy Mawman in Stockton, is very obscure, but, comparatively speaking, the numbers were large. Yapp's congregation was said to be the largest in England. Differences concerning the Usages extended so far north as Newcastle, and the numbers on each side appear to have been fairly equal. In the year 1720 Mawman had made trial of a scheme of conciliation on the lines of Brett's plan of joining together in those offices concerning which there was no dispute, but Collier dissuaded him from this course, and both Yapp and Mawman were always regarded as "essentialists." They did not use the New Communion Office but "practised" according to the temporary injunctions issued by Collier and Brett on the 20th December 1717. It is evident that there were internal difficulties, and to these was to be added the influence of George Smith of Burnhall, who, though not in any kind of Orders, thought it his duty to interfere in these matters. Mawman wrote to Brett on 13th November 1726: "I dined with Mr G. S. the day before I received your last letter and, though he has used me very roughly, we now hold a pretty fair correspondence¹." It was in the same year that a letter was addressed by the Non-Usager bishops in London to Yapp directing him to desist from his alterations. It is not clear why this particular time was chosen to censure one who had practised in this way for at least six years and did not belong to the communion of the authors of the inhibition, but it may be interesting to quote the letter in full. The date is 16th August 1726:

Dear Brother,

We have with great grief of heart...received repeated advices that you take unkind freedoms in altering the Liturgy of our Church in the most solemn office of religion...we therefore according to our bounden and indispensable duty protest against your proceedings. We warn and admonish you to return from

¹ Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 239.

whence you went out, and...not to persist any longer in troubling Israel. Be assured that unless your discriminating Usages are properly of Divine Institution, and considering the last paragraph of the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer and considering the Act of Uniformity, you can be deem'd no other than schismatical in the Church and rebellious in the State.

Signed

Directed to
The Rev. Mr Yapp
at New-Castle on Tyne.

N. SPINCKES,
H. G.,
H. DOUGHTY,
J. B.¹

John Griffin undertook the correspondence with the brethren in the north, and in the end Yapp gave a very reluctant consent, which was reported to Brett by Griffin on the 24th September 1726:

I have now received a letter from Mr Mawman wherein he tells me he has prevailed on Mr Yapp to consent in case of an absolute necessity, but that there are at present so great inconveniences in view with regard to the people there, who by reason of ill instruments from here (such as Mr Earberry) can hardly be kept together, and who by such a step would certainly be divided, that they desire we would have patience till these matters are closed up².

Yapp himself wrote to Brett pointing out that his taking the episcopal character would increase the difficulties and begging for a little more time. He mentioned in this letter that he had had a visit from George Smith who desired his greetings to be forwarded to Dr Brett³. This consecration was never effected. Yapp's health began to fail and the appointment of his successor had some very important consequences.

While Griffin was corresponding with the leaders of the Non-Jurors in the north, Brett had received a series of replies which showed that re-union was very far from being realized. The reply of Bishop Spinckes was uncompromising. Brett had appealed to the great name of George Hickes but Spinckes retorted

that great man would never have broken off the communion of the Church for the sake of the Usages. He was far too sensible of the dangerous guilt of schism. After all the learning that has been used in favour of the Usages contended for, I am not able to discover anything that shows them necessary...if you know not

¹ Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, Supplement, pp. 98, 99.

² Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 199.

³ *Ibid.* f. 241. Yapp to Brett, written from Durham, 2nd November 1726.

how to offer any terms of Union than those which have been so often rejected and are always liked to be rejected, be pleased to excuse me if I say we can offer no lower terms than returning to the Church from which you have fallen, and end your days in it as those great men did¹.

Gandy made no reply to Brett's letter, and for the time being communications between the two sides ceased. It was now necessary to supply the place in the Episcopate caused by the death of Collier, and there is some evidence that Mrs Collier interested herself in the matter soon after the death of her husband. On the 12th May 1726, Campbell gave Brett some idea of the influences which were at work:

I have met Mr Griffin who agrees with you in what you propose and also in the person and he has written to you by this post... He has been mightily solicited in favour of Jebb, but thinks as we do that a Senior is preferable, besides between you and I and let it go no farther, 'tis old Pope Joan who presses this and thinks to govern now as she did a little while ago, to which I am sure you would be glad to put a full stop².

This influence is also mentioned by Griffin in a letter written a few days later: "In the meantime, I undergo teasing enough from Red Lion Street," to which Brett added in his own hand a remark, "*i.e.* from Mrs Collier, to whom for her impertinence was given the name Pope Joan³." The suggestion that Jebb should be raised to the Episcopate was never seriously entertained. As a matter of fact, Brett had at this very time addressed several letters to Jebb rebuking him in severe terms for neglect of his priestly duties, and Jebb had replied in a strain which was not by any means submissive. Jebb was then living at the house of Dr Mead in Ormonde Street, and much resented the comparison made between Deacon's devotion during his medical training and the "slackness" displayed in similar circumstances by Jebb himself⁴. The choice of Brett, Campbell and Griffin fell upon Thomas Brett, "Junior," as he has been unfortunately called, the late Vicar of West Dean and Rector

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 171. Spinckes to Brett, 19th August 1726.

² *Ibid.* f. 131.

³ *Ibid.* f. 141. Griffin to Brett, 24th May 1726.

⁴ It is stated in the declaration made as to Collier's change of opinions that he named the person who was to succeed. It is possible in view of Mrs Collier's support of Jebb that it may have been Collier's desire that his librarian should be raised to the episcopal office.

of Folkington, diocese of Chichester. The name is correctly entered in Overton's List, but the identity of his name with that of Thomas Brett of Spring Grove was the cause of the unhappy surmise that the two Bretts stood in the relationship of father and son. There is no evidence that they were in any way related. On 17th November 1726 Campbell wrote to Brett to say that he was willing as to the "old gentleman" but thought that the "other" should also come. This refers presumably to Yapp, but this name was not being pressed at the moment. John Griffin wrote about the same time consenting to Brett's "namesake," but it may be well to let the "old gentleman" speak for himself.

THOMAS BRETT of *Sussex* to DR BRETT of *Spring Grove*

23rd February 1726/27

I have received your letter and if I don't mistake you the vacancy you mention has respect to the Episcopate and if it is, you must pardon me if my answer be (and be it must) *Nolo episcopari*. For though you are pleased to say there lies no objection against me I myself (who best know myself) can tell you of very many and those unanswerable. But I need only say that I am in my 77th year. For yourself will then conclude that such length of days has shortened my memory, weakened my sight, and impaired my intellect. And consequently that I am become *Miles emeritus*, fit rather to be quite laid aside than advanced to any higher station. The truth is I never was in any tolerable manner qualified for that high dignity, but now much less than ever; the malignity of the times having forced me from my studies, and old age has diminished even what I have attained. And would it not be a most presumptuous thing for me, that am thus unqualified and e'en dropping into the grave, to assume this character. I have for some years past attended a small congregation of our communion at Horsham and will continue to do while life and strength enable me, but *ultra posse non datur esse*¹.

The few letters of Mr Brett of Sussex which are preserved in the Brett MSS. make very delightful reading, and reveal the character of a "good easy man" as he was described by his greater namesake. They are written in a good scholarly hand and abound in Latin and Greek quotations. The protest made in this letter appears to have been repeated, but it is evident that Mr Brett could not resist the powerful influences of Dr Brett of Spring

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 285.

Grove and his colleagues. The consecration is recorded in the following terms:

THOMAS BRETT, M.A., was consecrated on Sunday, April 9th, 1727 in Mr Campbell's Oratory in Prince's Street, Cavendish Square, Westminster, by Thomas Brett, LL.D., Archibald Campbell and John Griffin, in the presence of Roger Laurence, John Pierce, presbyters; Mr Hurdman, Mr Hopwood, Mrs Campbell, Mrs Hurdman¹.

A word should be said concerning John Pierce, or Pearse, one of the witnesses to this consecration. He appears to have been an attorney in a good way of business and was ordained deacon on 24th March 1725/26 and priest on the 31st March 1726 by Jeremy Collier. This ordination must have been one of Collier's latest ministerial acts. Pierce and his wife are always spoken of with great respect and will appear in the story from time to time.

The elevation to the Episcopate made little difference to the quiet life of Thomas Brett of Horsham, to which place he returned after his consecration. The following letter will show that the "old gentleman" was anxious to be of service:

I have received your letter and return you thanks for it. It has given me an abundance of joy and satisfaction. For I have a holy zeal for the cause we have espoused...if in any case I can be serviceable under the character I bear, you can depend upon me².

There may be related here an account of the exercise of episcopal functions by Mr Brett which is of some interest as giving a glimpse of the little Church of the Non-Jurors actually at work. In April 1728 Wagstaffe had occasion to write to Dr Brett as his Primus, stating that he had some persons who desired to be confirmed, and making use of some strong language of complaint against Brett for not coming to town to discharge his duties to his people. Complaints were frequently made against Brett that he continued in his peaceful retirement and left others to face the troubles in London, and Wagstaffe on one occasion expressed himself as being "fatigued" with the whole business. In reply to Wagstaffe's request at this time, Brett pointed out that "there is one in town who can do

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 101.

² *Ibid.* vol. VII, f. 45. Mr Brett to his namesake, 5th August 1727.

as well as I," referring of course to Campbell, but Wagstaffe did not like Campbell and did not hesitate to say so:

Mr C. is of foreign jurisdiction. He does not observe our rubrics, nor conform to the discipline of the place where he is, who is very ungrateful to many of your own people and bears a wretched character among our friends of the other side¹.

At this juncture Brett's namesake came up from Sussex and administered Confirmation in Wagstaffe's chapel. The affair came to the ears of Campbell who made one of his many complaints to Dr Brett in a letter dated 27th April 1728: "There was a confirmation in Fleet Street. Your namesake came up to town and did not pay me a visit." Campbell wanted to know for what reason he could not get ordinary civility. "I have not seen Mr Wagstaffe since I moved, and as for the Great Dr Deacon, I don't expect that from his Mother's Son²." In view of the fact that Campbell was always ready to "assist" in the many emergencies that arose it may be admitted that these complaints had some justification.

The death of Nathaniel Spinckes took place on 28th July 1727. There seems to have been a general expression of opinion that a great hindrance to re-union had now been removed. Spinckes was, as a matter of course, mentioned with the greatest respect, but he had for some years been regarded as inflexibly opposed to any scheme of conciliation. Griffin expressed the general opinion in a letter to Dr Brett written 7th August 1727:

I read in a newspaper that Mr Spinckes was dead. I am sorry for the loss of so worthy a man but yet cannot help thinking that thereby an obstacle to a re-union is removed. If you think the way is thereby made open, it might be worth while to make another effort to try what disposition our old friends are in. I believe indeed that if we were to make any concessions they would laugh at us; but though I would not do that, yet a friendly invitation would give you the satisfaction of having done all in your power, whether they comply or no³.

Brett acted upon this suggestion and on the 7th August 1727 addressed a long letter to Gandy, who had now become the leader of the opposite section. He related how he had been accustomed to practise after his reception by Bishop Hicke until the authorization

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 164. Thos. Wagstaffe to Brett, 15th April 1728.

² *Ibid.* f. 177.

³ *Ibid.* f. 55.

of the New Office. He repeated his favourite contention that his previous practice, at any rate, was in accordance with the Acts of Uniformity¹. The concluding words of the letter are significant:

If we lay aside our present Communion Office, which we have been and still are ready to do for the sake of a re-union, will you be so kind as to grant us and all others leave to do as I did before the separation...if these terms will not be allowed, will you say what others can be proposed?

This letter was sent to Thomas Wagstaffe for personal delivery to Gandy, and Brett added a covering note in which he expressed his opinion that these proposals were more agreeable to the Act of Uniformity than those previously made by Collier². The letter was duly delivered by Wagstaffe, who wrote: "I went yesterday to wait upon Mr Gandy with your letter, who received it very kindly, spoke handsomely of you and drank your health to a happy union³." Gandy desired time in order to consult his colleagues, but the reply which he made on the 28th August shows that there was little chance of any agreement being reached.

In short the four Usages which you think to be necessary, your old friends think them neither necessary nor expedient as the case stands...I know of no way but the way offered by our deceased brethren, Mr Hawes and Mr Spinckes, who proposed, as you'll see from their letters to you, to return to the Church you have left⁴.

Gandy concluded with an expression of his belief that our rulers have not any authority or power to alter these things till a lawful Convocation summoned by a lawful Prince has determined of differences.

It is difficult to conceive that Brett and his colleagues could have expected any other answer. Nevertheless, great disappointment was felt and expressed at Gandy's unyielding attitude. Mr Brett of Sussex had a word to say on the subject in a letter addressed to his namesake and colleague on the 3rd October 1727:

I yesterday received yours of the 25th, but little thought I should have been disappointed in my expectation. I had promised myself the happy news of Re-Union, supposing it impossible that such

¹ It may be noted in passing that Brett was already weakening in his opinion of the New Office. He had written to Wagstaffe on 11th March 1726/27, "I must confess I wish it had not been done" (Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 72).

² Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 81.

³ *Ibid.* vol. vii, f. 65. Thos. Wagstaffe to Brett, 4th September 1727.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 67.

proposals as you were pleased to make could ever have been rejected. But so it is; it seems with some men when they have once said *Nay* they will ever stick to it, how unreasonable so ever it may be. I did indeed hope for better things from Mr Gandy. However, Union is a thing so desirable that I am glad to find you intend to make yet one further attempt on the terms you mention¹.

The further attempt made by Dr Brett took the form of a personal appeal to each of the three remaining bishops of this group, viz. Doughty, Blackburne, and Hall, but the attitude taken by these bishops was identical with that of their Primus. Blackburne, indeed, was disposed to go further. He demanded that all members of the party of Brett should sign the Article as to the sufficiency of Holy Scripture. Brett wrote in reply that he would consent to this, provided that the sense in which the article was originally imposed was borne in mind, that is, that Holy Scripture is to be interpreted according to the tradition of the Catholic Fathers. It is obvious that mere fencing of this kind would not advance matters, and the re-union efforts ceased for some time. There may be quoted in this place, before the subject is left for a moment, a few words from the reply sent by Bishop Henry Hall to Dr Brett on the 7th August 1729:

It was with much joy that I heard lately of proposals for a Re-Union from you, and I was impatient till I got a sight of them... sure, thought I, something would be advanced at this juncture that there may be a happy means to extinguish our differences and take away the only reproach of the Non-Jurors' communion, *i.e.* want of unity in itself.

The letter had a happy beginning, but Hall went on to repeat the *Non possumus* of his colleagues². One or two additions to the ranks of the clergy on both sides of the movement may be noted in this place. JOHN CLARK was one of the most notable characters in the later story, and his introduction to the Non-Jurors in London was made in a letter directed on the 10th November 1725 to Thomas Wagstaffe by Timothy Mawman, who stated that he was commissioned by Mr Yapp to send their duty to their superiors, and to desire instructions as to what was to be done with regard to a certain Mr Clark, who claimed to be a Non-Juring clergyman, but concerning whom there appeared to be some doubt both about his

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 75.

² Rawlinson MSS. D. 845 (13612), p. 199.

orders and his past history. Mr Collier ordered that letters of orders must be produced, and that time must be given for the testing of Clark's character. Nothing more was heard of the matter until May 1728, when Clark called on Wagstaffe with a letter of commendation from Yapp. Wagstaffe thereupon reported the affair to Brett and asked for direction in the matter¹. Brett replied in a dignified and pontifical style, rebuking every one concerned for their slackness, but consenting to the "fixing" of Clark in a congregation as soon as possible². Clark's history is briefly this. He left Scotland in consequence of some early "mistake," and was ordained deacon by Bishop Talbot of Durham. The circumstances under which he left the Established Church are not known, but there is a note among the papers of Dr Brett of the "Recantation of schism" by Mr John Clerk, without date³. Clark received priests' orders from Bishop Fullerton of Edinburgh on 8th February 1725/26. He seems to have shown signs of full contrition for his early "lapse," and will appear in these pages in different connections until the year 1750, at which time he was Deacon's chief presbyter in London.

Two very important additions, from the opposite side of the movement, were made to the Episcopate in the year 1728. The first name is that of Richard Rawlinson, who may be described (if a slight variation is made in the wording of Deacon's famous inscription) as "one of the strangest of primitive bishops," and, it may be added, one of the most timorous. Brett's record is as follows:

RICHARD RAWLINSON, LL.D., was consecrated on the Annunciation of Our Lady, being Monday, 25th March 1728, by Henry Gandy, Henry Doughty and John Blackburne, in Mr Gandy's Oratory in Scroop Court in London, in the presence of Richard Russell, John Lindsay, Robert Gordoun, presbyters; Thomas Martin Senior and Junior, Thomas Gyles, Richard Tyreman, Gents; Mr Thomas Pierce.

It is well known that Rawlinson concealed his own name in his MS. record. He is credited with a statement made in later life that he had been over-persuaded into "certain posts," but it is difficult to know who they were who were able to persuade Richard Rawlinson

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 191.

² *Ibid.* vol. XVII, f. 91. Brett to Wagstaffe, 23rd May 1728.

³ *Ibid.* vol. X, f. 155.

into any course contrary to his own will. Many details of Rawlinson's career as a Non-Juror which have not been previously known will be related in due course and the record may speak for itself. It will suffice to state that Rawlinson was a convinced Jacobite and an equally strong and unyielding Erastian. It is characteristic that at his consecration Rawlinson made an original subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, which had not been required of him by Collier at his ordination as deacon and priest¹.

Dr Brett's record of the second of these consecrations reads as follows:

GEORGE SMITH was consecrated on Thursday, the Feast of St Stephen 1728, by Henry Gandy, John Blackburne and Richard Rawlinson, in the Chapel or Oratory of Mr Gandy over against Saint Andrew's Church, Holborn, London, in the presence of Robert Gordoun, presbyter; T. Bowdler Esq., William Bedford, Gent; W. Bowyer and James Bettenham, printers; Richard Tyreman and ... Burbridge, Gents.

Previous writers have pointed out that there was no record of Smith's ordination as deacon and priest, but the missing information has been recovered. The original Letters of Orders of Smith, both to Diaconate and Priesthood, are preserved among the College Papers in Edinburgh, and George Smith gave the information concerning his own ordination in a letter which he wrote to Bishop Gillan on the 31st December 1732, in the course of which he related the fact that he was deacon, priest and bishop in eighteen days. He had been pressed to go to London before, "even by Bishop Blackburne," who was urgent that he should take orders. Smith was ordained deacon by Henry Gandy on Sunday, 8th December 1728, and priest by the same bishop fourteen days later. Rawlinson does not appear to have made any record of these ordinations, and there is reason to believe that the facts were not generally known, even by the clergy².

The name of Robert Gordon or Gordoun, as it is usually written

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 155.

² See Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 2056. The presbyters who protested against the policy of re-union proposed and eventually effected by Bishop Smith said in the course of some impolite and undutiful remarks that "they had seen one raised to the height of the episcopal power whom they had known six weeks earlier as a country layman." Dr Brett's interpretation of this statement was that Smith was consecrated to the Episcopate *per saltum*, and he composed some learned arguments to prove that such consecrations were undoubtedly valid.

in the Brett MSS., will have been noticed among the witnesses to both the consecrations of 1728. There is here introduced to the story one of the most gracious and attractive characters in the whole movement. Gordon was brought up in the "Scottish Non-Jurant Church," but the place of his birth is not known with any certainty. It is clear that he spent a portion of his boyhood at Durham, but little more is known of his early life¹. He married the younger daughter of Hilkiah Bedford, and was consequently brother-in-law to George Smith. In the year 1728 he was acting as press-corrector to Bettenham, an occupation which he resigned a few years later on the ground of injury to his health².

On the 28th July 1727 Gordon was ordained deacon at Gray's Inn by Mr Spinckes in the presence of Mr Slatter, Mr Blackburne, Mr Joseph Hall and Dr Hanbury; and priest by Mr Gandy in his chapel on the 21st September in the same year; present, Dr Rawlinson, Mr Orme, Mr Lindsay, Mr Joseph Hall, Mr W. Bowyer, Mr James Bettenham, Mr Charles Smith, Mr Peter Lowndes³.

In politics Gordon was one of the most convinced and persistent Jacobites who devoted themselves to the fortunes of the exiled family. In religious matters his character is justly estimated at a very high level. The reading of letters from his pen, which from this time onward appear in the Brett MSS., is a delightful exercise on account of the excellence of the handwriting and the manifestation of the sincerity of the writer.

The name of George Smith is closely associated with efforts to effect re-union which eventually proved successful, but these negotiations were connected with the presence of John Griffin in Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is necessary to relate the events which led to the removal of the last-named bishop to the north. On 5th September 1728 Wagstaffe informed Brett that Mr Yapp's health had failed and that he would not be able to return to Newcastle. He added a strong recommendation that Griffin should be asked to supply the vacancy, reminding Brett that not the New Office but the English Liturgy must be used, with the alterations enjoined

¹ Overton, *Non-Jurors*, p. 323.

² Brett MSS., vol. xiv, f. 193. N. Brett to his father, 3rd July 1735.

³ Gordon's Letter of Orders as deacon is preserved among the College Papers and the original document of Ordination to the Priesthood is in the Episcopal Chest, No. 1288. Rawlinson recorded the second ordination but for some unknown reason left the name blank.

by Collier and Brett on the 20th December 1717¹. Timothy Mawman also wrote at the same time to Brett strongly urging that Griffin should be pressed to accept the post, and pointing out "that consequent upon our not being able to find an agreeable person they will apply to the other side for a pastor to their mind²." Griffin refused the offer at the first, but Mawman represented that disastrous results would ensue if it became necessary to tell the people that Brett was unable to provide them with a pastor. In the end Griffin's resistance was fairly broken down, and on the 11th October he wrote to Brett: "It is enough. I am determined by the help of God to go to Newcastle³."

The pastorate which Griffin now assumed was brief and, as will be seen, bitterly disappointing to him. It began with promise fair enough. Griffin established a weekly celebration of Holy Communion, but did not like the Office which he was compelled to use. His episcopal character became known about the same time as the news arrived of the elevation of George Smith to the Episcopate in December 1728⁴. The bleak climate of Tyneside was uncongenial to one accustomed to the milder skies of Oxfordshire, and Griffin's health was soon affected by these unfamiliar surroundings. The relations which existed between Griffin and Smith were fairly cordial, although there are indications that the former experienced some uneasiness as a result of the close proximity of his episcopal brother at Burnhall. Nevertheless, the letters of Griffin to Brett showed that Smith was, to say the least, desirous of maintaining outward civility. *E.g.* on 19th April 1729 Griffin wrote: "I am not in any manner of apprehension of anything that Mr G.S. may do here. I don't believe he has any such intention⁵." Again, on 15th July:

I have lately been at Stockton and Darlington where I found Mr Mawman very happy in a good people, though very few... On my way home Mr M. accompanied me to Burnhall, calling as we went on Mr Burden at Sedgefield, from whence we three visited Mr G. Smith, who received us civilly and has promised to make me a visit at Newcastle⁶.

The visit of George Smith to Newcastle was duly paid on the 2nd September 1729, and on the following day Griffin wrote a long letter

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 203.

² *Ibid.* f. 247. Mawman to Brett, 16th September 1728.

³ *Ibid.* f. 263.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 281.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 341.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 359.

to Brett who evidently regarded it as one of the most important in his collection¹. It will be necessary to quote some long extracts from this letter, owing to the important developments which ensued from the formal proposals which were made by Smith in the course of this visit:

I had yesterday a visit from Mr G. S. and Mr Blackburne; they came in a very friendly and courteous manner, and I was very glad to see them. But they were the more welcome to me in that they brought proposals of accommodation; which being, as I have told them, the first that had come from their side of the question, I was most willing to hearken to and to comply with as far as in conscience I might. The matter is yet in embryo and as it was conducted by the two only between themselves but not without the knowledge of Mr Mawman, who being with them at Burnhall first started it, so it is not yet known by either side but ourselves. And they desire it may not be communicated at present further than to yourself and Mr Wagstaffe...They think that if we can comply with the project, they can prevail with their brethren to agree to it. The proposals are these; They are willing to grant us the Mixture, that is, as I understand them, not only that we should be at liberty to use it, but that it shall be used everywhere or generally by them as well as by us; if not in a public manner yet certainly the Mixture...In the next place the words "Militant etc." had been granted by Mr Collier, which indeed I had heard, but I asked whether they would make a declaration that the dead were designed to be comprehended in that prayer. This being refused, I said I supposed none of them thought Prayers for the Dead unlawful. They intimated that some among them thought so. To which I replied the dispute being not about private sentiments, but about practices, I supposed that might content both parties, and Mr Collier having according to them agreed to these words, there might perhaps be no dispute about this point, especially seeing that the dead were supposed to be comprehended in those words of the Oblatory Prayer "All Thy Whole Church."...In the third place it was offered by them that there should be a synodical declaration made to this effect, that by these words, "Hear us, O Merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee and grant that we receiving etc." as they now stand, the Church intends to ask a blessing on the elements, or to invoke the Father to send down the Holy Spirit upon the Bread and Cup to make them the Body and Blood of Christ to the receivers. To this I replied that I hoped

¹ A copy of the original as well as the actual letter itself is preserved in the Brett MSS.

that such a declaration as this, rightly worded, might be sufficient to satisfy all parties. So far as I could guess...there would be no dispute on their side about the wording of it, but not one word of the prayer would have to be altered...Lastly, we had much dispute about the Oblatory Prayer, which I desired might be transferred, and they insisted on keeping it in the present situation.

At this point deadlock appeared to be reached on the question of there being no authority to make any alterations. The other side contended that the Oblation was made by the whole service, and that the prayer is rightly enough placed where it is. Griffin was asked as to the Act of Uniformity, to which he replied:

the things enjoined by that Act were enjoined as conditions upon which the clergy were to enjoy the patrimony of the Church, and consequently seeing we are deprived of our livings...we were free from those conditions.

The other side accepted this statement in silence, but offered a pertinent remark as to the Canons, pointing out that the subscription to the book as it now stands was made at ordination. Griffin concluded the letter by expressing a hope that he had not gone too far, but it was not too late to retract. He suggested that these preliminaries might be regarded as sufficient for a congress, and finally gave Brett two warnings. (1) Let us be sure of our terms for afterwards the other side will be in a majority and we shall have H. G., H. D., R. R., and J. B. down upon us. (2) Tell nobody of this, especially Mr Campbell¹.

A few comments may be made on the proposals contained in this letter. In the first place, the part played by Blackburne in the matter was curious, in view of the later developments, and there is no obvious explanation of his presence in the north at this time. Secondly, it will have been noted that Griffin stated that the affair was begun by Mawman. This opens out some strange possibilities. It has been suggested that the real author of these negotiations was Brett himself, and that he arranged for some one of the other side to make the proposals. There is no proof of this statement. Brett contended that the proposals were not his, but in view of these remarks of Griffin about Mawman, it is not impossible that informal *pourparlers* had been going on for some time. Further, attention should be given to the mention of the policy of a "Declaration,"

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, ff. 375 *et seq.*

i.e. the explaining of the meaning of the Prayer Book by those who claimed authority to do so. It was on this policy of declarations that the Union was in the end brought about. Finally, it may be pointed out that the negotiations were more or less "secret," a fact which caused great offence to the opponents who were about to appear.

Whatever may be thought of the origin of the proposals, it is certain that Brett had some knowledge of them and was expecting them to be made. On the 30th August 1729 Brett was at Feversham in the course of one of his monthly visits to his flock in that place. He learned that Henry Gandy was in the town at the house of Mr S. Smith, who had married a sister of Thomas Wagstaffe. Brett took the opportunity of calling upon Gandy, and a friendly discourse took place without any reference to the matters in dispute. But on Monday morning, the 1st September, when Brett called to take leave of Gandy, the latter made an important communication to him to the effect that George Smith had sent a little book in MS. wherein he had shown that the differences between the two sections were but small and far from being irreconcilable. Gandy assured Brett that he would shortly receive a copy of this MS., and he hoped that it might be the means of procuring union between them. On Brett's return to Spring Grove he found Smith's little book awaiting him, together with a letter from Thomas Bedford, Smith's brother-in-law¹. The title of the thesis was "The Church of England proved to have a Prayer for a Blessing upon the Elements and also to Offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in answer to what Mr Collier, Dr Brett, and Mr T. Wagstaffe have wrote to show the contrary...by Mr Smith of Durham²." The pamphlet does not seem to have been preserved, but the nature of it may be inferred from the contents of the many letters which were now poured forth from the pen of George Smith. The correspondence between Smith and Brett was conducted on a scale which can only be described as tremendous, and nothing more unlike the style of the present day can be conceived. Thomas Brett, with all his excellencies of character and scholarly attainments, cannot be

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, f. 114.

² This pamphlet is No. 41 in Thomas Wagstaffe's List. See end of present chapter. It bears the following comment: Sent in MS. to Dr Brett, Mr Griffin and Mr Wagstaffe in September 1729 after being perused by H. Gandy, H. Doughty, J. Blackburne and R. Rawlinson.

considered a strong man. He was at different parts of his life under the influence of men to whom he looked for support and guidance. Johnson of Cranbrook at an earlier, and Jeremy Collier at a later period, held great sway over Brett's developments of opinion in current matters of dispute, but the influence of Bishop Smith is to be reckoned as by far the strongest force which moulded Brett's later life. The effect of this pamphlet on Brett's mind was immediate. He freely admitted that it came nearer to convincing him that the Established Communion Office was not defective than all that had been printed in defence of that contention. There were, however, many remaining difficulties, the chief of which were connected with the personal opinions of Cranmer, Bucer and Martyr. Brett pointed out that all these theologians agreed that the Consecration was solely effected by the Words of Institution. Further, Bucer and Martyr were Calvinists and had signed the "French Declaration." The petition "Hear us, O Merciful Father, etc.," is therefore to be interpreted in their sense and not in ours¹. Brett expressed grave doubt whether Smith's contention that the prayer contained a blessing upon the elements could be maintained.

While Brett was preparing this answer, there arrived Griffin's letter containing the proposals which have been related above, and at the same time a long letter from George Smith himself, from which some extracts are given. Smith expressed a strong desire for unity and pointed out that many people were offended by the statement that the Church of England had had neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament since the Reformation. He expressed his belief in the Sacrifice in plain and emphatic terms. As to the Mixture, Smith knew none who believed that it was contrary to the rubric of the Church. He laid down clearly his version of the proposals which had been made to Griffin.

(1) It shall be agreed by common consent that the Mixture, provided it be made secretly, shall always be used in all public or large congregations, but that those who hold it indifferent may, if they please, in a small assembly where there are none present who hold the necessity of this Usage, omit it.

¹ Bucer's view of the Invocation may be inferred from the following passage in *Scripta Anglicana* (p. 472). "It is agreed that those words by which we pray for a blessing or sanctifying of the Bread and Wine that they may be to us the Body and Blood of the Son of God are commanded neither by precept nor example of Our Lord Himself or His Apostles."

(2) It shall be by common advice agreed that the words "Militant etc." shall not be left out, but there shall be a liberty to understand the clause of that prayer in the same unlimited sense as if they were left out, agreeably to other parts of the Common Prayer, particularly in the Burial Office where God is besought "to accomplish the number of His elect etc."

(3) It shall also be declared that the Church by the words "Grant that we receiving etc." intends to bless the elements and to beg God to send down the Holy Spirit upon them that they may be made the Body and Blood of Christ.

(4) And that the Church by its present office designs to offer the same unbloody commemorative representative Sacrifice which Our Lord Himself first and, after His Example, the primitive Church, offered the whole world over.

Lastly, all things formerly done contrary to these proposals shall be rescinded and the dispute on these points shall never be mentioned more amongst us¹.

Brett had now the proposals fairly put before him and manifested from the first a strong desire to come to terms. Objections were from time to time made by him, but many of these were not more than manœuvres to secure a safe retreat. In a letter of reply to Smith, Brett mentioned two difficulties which seemed to him of serious importance. The Mixture ought to be done openly before the people. The Oblation was not sufficiently safeguarded, and Brett strongly desired that the present prayer of Oblation should be placed immediately after the Consecration. The letter also contains an Instrument of Union which Brett drew up. This has never been printed before, and as it is the first of a long succession of similar documents it is thought well to quote it in full.

Whereas an unhappy misunderstanding has continued for many years between us the sufferers in one common cause for conscience sake, so that although we were reduced to an inconsiderable number, we yet had separate communions on account of (here follows a list of the four Usages); one part maintaining these things to be necessary and that they were not provided for in the Public Liturgy; the other maintaining that the two former points (mixture and prayers for the dead) were not necessary and that the other two (Oblation and Invocation) were sufficiently provided for in the Established Communion Office. Hereupon ensued a division among them, and they who thought all these Usages to be necessary and that sufficient provision was not made for them

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 385.

formed a New Communion Office which they have used for near 12 years; but now in order to unite in communion with their brethren as heretofore, they have agreed entirely to lay aside the said Communion Office, with the other Offices annexed to it and to use them no more. And to use no other forms than what are authorised by the Church of England. Those on the other side also, although they believe the mixture not to be necessary as a part of Our Saviour's Institution, yet considering it has been anciently used in the Church and the use of it decreed by a general council, and is not prohibited by the Church of England and is still and has been of long time used in divers public churches of that communion without offence, have also out of their earnest desire of union granted that the mixture of Water with the sacramental Wine shall be always openly used in our present circumstances...And as to the words Militant etc. though they require them to be always used as they are appointed, yet they declare that the last clause in that prayer may be understood and interpreted in the same unlimited sense as if the aforesaid words were left out....They do declare that the word Oblations in the prayer for the Church Militant is to be understood of the Bread and Wine just before placed upon the Table by the priest according to the rubric immediately preceding, and that we are to believe the Bread and Wine offered here and in the subsequent prayers and particularly in that prayer where we desire God "To accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" (which prayer is therefore always to be used before the distribution of the Elements and not after) are made the representative as well as the commemorative Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ...Also that the Church by that prayer "Grant that we receiving etc." intends to bless the Elements or beg of God to send the Holy Ghost on them that they may be made to us the Body and Blood of Christ. In these points we are now all agreed and have resolved to have no more disputes or difficulties on this subject, nor as we hope on any other.

Brett desired that this Instrument might be duly signed by all the bishops on both sides of the question. He possessed a sanguine habit of mind, which is clearly shown in this and the subsequent letters. It is evident that he not only thought that union was at hand, but also that he could in some measure dictate the terms. He must, however, have been rudely shaken from this belief by the reply of Bishop Smith, who took the standpoint of a man who held the winning cards in his own hand. If terms were to be dictated he was the man to do it and Brett was forced to recognize the

strength of Smith's position. In a letter sent to Brett on the 23rd September 1729 Smith declined to accept the suggestion as to the transference of the Oblatory Prayer:

Since the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is, as Bishop Hicke over and over declares, an oblation of Bread and Wine whereby we commemorate and represent Our Saviour's Body given for us and His Blood shed upon the Cross, and as our Church actually has this oblation of Bread and Wine, and thereby commemorates our redemption by Christ, and at and by the consecration represents and shows forth the Lord's Death, I hope you will at length upon due and mature consideration be satisfied.

Smith was willing, however, to make a compromise and agree to the open and public use of the Mixture, on condition that no transposition was made in the Office, and further suggested that the wording of the Declaration as to the Oblation might be made more definite: "That at the Consecration the priest by the manual ceremonies and by way of solemn address to God the Father presents to him the Oblations then made the representative Body and Blood, etc."¹

The differences which separated Brett from Smith were comparatively small, but serious difficulties arose when the main body of the bishops and clergy on either side were informed of the project. Thomas Wagstaffe had seen George Smith's letter before it was despatched to Brett. It had been brought to him by Thomas Bedford, in whose presence Wagstaffe superscribed it and sent it to the post. The secrecy with which it was proposed to conduct the negotiations was strongly deprecated by Wagstaffe. For himself, he was prepared to trust Brett absolutely:

But I doubt all our clergy will not be so forward in this matter and to tell you plainly, I vehemently suspect that Mr Laurence and Mr Deacon, particularly the latter, will oppose the terms which, till I hear their reasons, I believe I shall be willing to comply with. And yet I think we ought in justice to hear what they have to say before we discard them for the sake of uniting with our old brethren.

Wagstaffe expressed great difficulty with regard to the Invocation, which, according to the Declaration, is implied in the Consecration prayer, "How can a Declaration make a prayer upon the Communicants into a Benediction of the Elements?" Wagstaffe also

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 395.

viewed with suspicion the last clause of Smith's proposals, in which it is declared that "these things shall never be mentioned again." On the contrary, Wagstaffe's idea was

that we ought to have the liberty to defend them upon all occasions ...unless the liberty of doing it remains to us we shall, I doubt not, be liable to the charge of betraying these primitive Usages to complaisance and friendship, of breaking with the ancient Christians to unite with our modern brethren and attempting to build up the Church upon the ruins of truth¹.

Brett appears to have taken to heart the warnings of Wagstaffe against secrecy and proceeded to write to one of his "advanced" clergy, not, one would think, with any great hope of success. Copies of two letters from Brett to Thomas Deacon are preserved in the Chetham Library in Manchester. The writer has given elsewhere some account of these MSS. and their contents². Brett's first letter was written on the 4th October 1729. It contains a full account of Smith's proposals and it may suffice to mention two points which show themselves clearly from a reading of this letter. In the first place, Brett had already made his surrender to Smith with regard to the transposition of the Oblatory Prayer. The actual words in the letter to Deacon are, "And as to the Post Communion Prayer, I think, except the former part of it which is in the first book of Edw. VI (*i.e.* Wherefore...we Thy humble servants do celebrate, etc.) were added to it, we may as well use it where it is as in any other place. The second point is a very optimistic view which Brett took of the prospects of a settlement. "Accordingly Mr Griffin and I are come to this agreement with these two bishops." Here is another instance of Brett's sanguine turn of mind, in view of the fact that both Griffin and Blackburne were about to denounce the agreement from opposing points of view. Deacon's reply dated the 21st October could scarcely have caused surprise. It was courteous in tone but most uncompromising. Deacon acknowledged that it was for the bishops to decide, but he must answer to God for his own conduct and cannot submit implicitly. Truth must come before unity, and Deacon's deliberate opinion was that this scheme was "founded on principles of human policy rather than of evangelical sincerity and simplicity."

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 389. Wagstaffe to Brett, 10th September 1729.

² *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, pp. 26, 90, 94.

The principle on which the proposals were founded was unsound. "How can a declaration make certain things to be or not be in the English Prayer Book. Is not this the doctrine of 'Intention'?" Deacon's main objection was, however, much more serious. Brett was really aiming at a union with the Church of England:

I can no more subscribe to the Articles and Canons of the Church of England than the Council of Trent. And though neither the Greek nor the English Church be perfectly pure, yet I can't help thinking the former to be the more eligible communion. I am afraid there are almost as many popish points (by which I mean corruptions of the Western Church and deviations from the Primitive) unreformed in the Church of England as she has reformed, so that, according to her present constitution, she seems to me to be a mixture of Popery and Calvinism¹.

Deacon's standpoint should be carefully noted by the student of these curious movements of opinion. We have here the beginning of the little society which called itself to the end of the century the Orthodox British Catholic Church.

Brett replied to this letter on the 4th November 1729, in the course of which he charged Deacon, not without some justice, of having made the breach wider than it was before. Why should the question of Articles and Canons be brought in? Would it not be time enough when subscription to the Articles was demanded? The second reply of Deacon on the 16th November is more uncompromising than the former. He makes the interesting statement with regard to the Articles and Canons that Mr Collier would not have subscribed to them any more than he himself. He argued at some length against what he considered an exaggerated notion of the Royal Supremacy, which was a favourite theme with him in later life, and expressed the deliberate opinion that the Church of England has abolished the Christian Sacrifice and Altar, both Name and Thing. Finally, Deacon delivered his soul in somewhat heroic style:

All the question is whether we should be divided from our old friends or from the Primitive Church. For if I could once be satisfied that the latter would have communicated by such a Liturgy as the former proposed, I would not say one word upon the point of worship.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 417.

It is probable that the *intransigent* attitude of Deacon was no surprise to Brett, but there awaited him a series of disappointments in the gradual falling away of many of his old friends who could not approve of his methods for obtaining a re-union. Campbell wrote on the 9th October 1729 with a certain amount of restraint, but it is obvious that he greatly distrusted the scheme. He thought that the transposition of the Oblatory Prayer was very essential:

Mr Hawes did it for many years...I shall not put in my oar unasked, nor shall I obstruct peace, neither here nor elsewhere, but I know not yet how to digest some of the things you have yielded.

Campbell thought that the dropping of the New Office was a great mistake. In his opinion, "many, many of the complying clergy are ripe to revive it...I know none that I would prefer to it but the Clementine¹."

The hesitation which Griffin had expressed in his relation to Brett of the details of the scheme had now developed into downright hostility. A correspondence between Griffin and Wagstaffe, which the former had commenced with the hope of persuading the latter that his objections concerning the Invocation were groundless, had the result that Griffin himself became converted to the belief that no Invocation could be implied in the present Liturgy. As to the Oblation, Griffin had from the first expressed grave doubts, and these now became much more pronounced, as will be seen from a letter addressed by him to Brett on the 4th November 1729.

At the Offertory an Oblation is truly made, but of alms, bread and wine, all on the same level and all for the same purpose, viz.: the acknowledgement of God's dominion. Is this the Eucharistic Sacrifice...is not this the Eucharistic Sacrifice, to represent before God here on earth that Unbloody Offering which Christ, the High Priest, presents unto Him continually in Heaven....Can all or anything of this be done by placing Bread and Wine upon the Altar in acknowledgement of God's dominion as creator. Did Christ offer unconsecrated Bread and Wine for the remission of sins?...What Christ did thus magisterially was always done by the Church ministerially...the primitive fathers did not think it enough to offer Alms and Bread and Wine, and then having said the Words of Institution over the Bread and Wine to drink it...they offered the Eucharist with proper acts of Sacerdotal Intercession for all the Whole Church Militant and Triumphant.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 401.

Griffin evidently felt that in forwarding this strongly expressed letter he had burnt his boats behind him. He expressed a willingness to pass into retirement if Brett regarded him as an obstacle to peace¹.

The consent of Brett's remaining episcopal colleague, his namesake of Sussex, was obtained without difficulty, but given without enthusiasm. Mr Brett wrote as follows on the 10th October 1729:

I think nothing can be better composed than the office we have used and therefore heartily wish it might be retained, yet for peace sake I am content to return to the old office so explained, as you informed me. Thus you have my consent....I am in perfect health though on the border of my 80th year².

The most bitter attack on the proposals of Brett and Smith was made by Roger Laurence. In a letter dated the 4th November 1729, the first in a long series of violent attacks on Brett, Laurence denounces the scheme by means of quotations from Brett's earlier writings. It was this undoubted change of opinion which made it so difficult for Brett to parry Laurence's attacks. The arguments, if they may be so styled, are briefly these. Laurence began with the "Convocation" of the 19th and 20th December 1717 when the four points were declared to be necessary and were ordered to be put into practice. This necessity must still be assumed to exist. In the second place, Laurence attacked the whole policy of Declarations, which cannot make that into being which does not exist. Proof was given in Brett's own words that these things have no "Being" in the established Liturgy. *E.g.* in *Liturgies* (p. 432) Brett had said: "All the dead are expressly excluded from the prayers of the Church by the words 'Militant Here on Earth.'" Again, on pages 120 and 122, the following words occur: "The Church of England has wilfully and designedly omitted to make the Oblation of the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ which He Himself made and commanded us to make...this is essentially defective." After quoting these words from Brett's own works, Laurence stated in conclusion that "we are now asked to return to the use of a criminally defective Liturgy with the sanction of a declaration in vague terms³."

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 429.

² *Ibid.* f. 407. Thomas Brett of Sussex to Dr Brett of Spring Grove.

³ *Ibid.* f. 433.

It will be seen that the new scheme was launched into very rough waters, but it was hoped that the influence of Smith and Brett would be sufficient to ensure its adoption. The agreement was drawn up in due form by George Smith, who described it as an Instrument of Union and forwarded it to Henry Gandy on the 21st October 1729. A certain amount of repetition cannot be avoided, but it is thought well to quote this Instrument almost in full in order that it may be compared with that suggested by Brett.

THE FIRST SUGGESTED INSTRUMENT OF UNION

Whereas an unhappy misunderstanding etc. [this is couched in similar terms to Brett's suggested form, see p. 125]...we are now, God be praised, entirely agreed to cease that lamentable division and to join in communion again with one another.

And to the end there may be an exact uniformity amongst us and to prevent all misconstructions for the time to come, we who have always thought it our duty constantly to adhere to the established Liturgy of the Church of England, being empowered thereto by the following clause in the Book of Common Prayer ("And forasmuch etc.") out of the earnest and Christian desire we have of uniting with our Brethren make the following order.

That though we believe the Mixture to be in its own nature indifferent and not at all necessary or any part of Our Saviour's Institution, yet considering it has been anciently used and is not contrary to anything contained in the Liturgy of the Church of England, has been practised all along by many bishops and other eminent members of the said Church, and is still and has been of a long time used in divers public churches of that communion without offence, *We direct* that a little Water shall always be openly mixed with the Sacramental Wine.

And for the farther satisfaction of our brethren as to the words *Militant etc.* though we absolutely require these words be always used as they are appointed, yet *We declare* that the last clause "Grant that we with them etc." may be understood and interpreted so as not to exclude the faithful departed.

The next clauses refer to the Oblation and Invocation, and are practically identical with the form suggested by Brett:

And, on the other hand, we who once thought ourselves obliged to separate from our brethren because we did not then apprehend there was a sufficient provision in the established Liturgy for these four Usages aforesaid, which we believe to be necessary for the rightful administration of the Eucharist, do joyfully accept the

concessions they have been pleased to make us of the open use of the Mixture, and being fully satisfied with the declaration above specified, think it not now necessary to omit the words *Militant etc.* or to insert the word *Bless* or to transpose the prayer in the Post Communion, and will never for the future affirm the four points in dispute are not sufficiently provided for in the public Liturgy.... And whereas upon our separation we formed a New Communion Office, which we have now used for twelve years, in order to unite in communion with our brethren as heretofore we agree entirely to lay it aside with the other offices annexed to it and to use them no more, and return to the use of the Communion Office in the Church of England Prayer Book and use no other forms but what are authorised by the Church of England.

The Instrument concludes with the expression of a pious hope that peace may prevail and that the two sides may go hand in hand in the propagation of "good principles¹."

This first Instrument deserves careful consideration. It should be noted that what Smith had in view was an exact uniformity and that he conceived that the bishops were to direct and the clergy and people to obey. It will be seen that in this respect there was a wide difference between this first Instrument and two later productions of the same nature which will be quoted in due course.

This Instrument never received the signature of any of the bishops. Nothing has hitherto been said about the opinions of the bishops and clergy who were in communion with Henry Gandy, but very strong objections were made on the part of this group. Brett referred to the fact that John Creyk, Chaplain to the Earl of Winchilsea, treated him with great coolness at this time. The attitude of John Blackburne to the agreement changed very rapidly. In view of the isolated standpoint which he afterwards adopted, it is difficult to understand how he came to be connected with the original proposals, but it is due to Blackburne's memory to state his own explanation which was given in a record of an acrimonious interview which he had with Bishop Smith in July 1737. "I told him my undertaking extended no further than to consult my brethren, who rejected them²." There are indications that the Instrument was submitted to the Non-Usager bishops at a meeting which was held at the house of Henry Doughty, who was certainly very much opposed to the whole scheme. The proposals

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 415.

² College Papers, f. 6, p. 33.

were greatly disliked by another bishop of the group, principally upon grounds which are indicated in the following letter:

BISHOP RAWLINSON to BISHOP DOUGHTY 6th December 1729

My sentiments I fully discovered when the affair was first opened at your house, and you may recollect they were in no ways favourable to any compliances, much less of open and avowed mixtures etc. The conduct that had been used in this particular affair I could not readily applaud. I then hinted how much more proper it had been to have received the proposals from the separatists themselves without any overtures from us...In case of agreement, very unwillingly should I subscribe ought which might not only speak too plain our character, but bear the force of a retraction of what we so solemnly signed and by your means conveyed into the country...the affair is very public¹.

The rejection of the proposals by the Non-Usager bishops soon became known to the other side. In a letter from Wagstaffe to Brett, 8th November 1729, Mr Doughty's opposition was commented on and the letter continued:

Upon receipt of a letter from Mr Griffin (in which he expressed great doubts both on the Oblation and Invocation) I look upon the matter as at an end and more especially because I have now reason to believe that, if all our side were unanimous in accepting the declaration, it would be rejected on the other side².

Brett wrote to Campbell on the 29th November giving him the definite information that the agreement had been rejected by "our old friends." He acknowledged that he had yielded too much, but he was not sorry for what he had done, and on the same date Brett gave Laurence the information that "the treaty was broken off³." Campbell's reply to this letter, dated the 2nd December, is worth noting: "I am not sorry that the Union failed. Gold can be bought too dear." What Campbell had proposed and still desired was that all should join in those offices wherein they agree, and he was also

¹ The sting of this letter is certainly in the tail. R. R. had a constant dread of "publicity." The document referred to is dated 7th April 1728. A copy is preserved at the end of Rawlinson's MS. record of Non-Juring Ordinations.

"We the underwritten utterly dislike and remonstrate against any alterations at all, the Usages contended for having been regularly rejected, and we do forbid so far as in us lies adding to or diminishing of the Liturgy of the Church of England.

H. G.	J. B.
H. D.	R. R."

² Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 451.

³ Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, f. 63.

prepared to welcome his old friends to Communion. In view of what actually happened in 1732, the concluding words of Campbell's letter are not without interest. "If you had united on the proposed terms, I should, nevertheless, have resolved by God's help to continue as I am, if I were left alone, but I find in that case I was to have good company¹."

The first act in the negotiations for re-union may be said to have terminated at this point. The second stage is closely connected with the internal troubles of the congregation in Newcastle. The principal member of this congregation was a surgeon of the name of Hanby, who presents another instance of the combination of belief in the principles of the Non-Jurors with the practice of medicine. Griffin, who was unmarried, lodged at Hanby's house, and indications are not wanting that both men had their fair share of obstinacy, with a result that can easily be imagined. Griffin had become unsettled, and strongly desired his "liberty." So early as the 12th August 1729, he had written to Brett in bitterness of soul: "Had I known before I came here half of what I know now, not all the teams in England in a row should have drawn me a step this way²." Again, on the 6th December of the same year Griffin stated that "the congregation, the climate and the people are all very distasteful³." It is evident that it was as difficult two hundred years ago as to-day for a south countryman to adapt himself to the rough environment of the north. Griffin had from the first exceeded the directions for the Celebration of the Eucharist which had been received from Collier in 1720. Instead of the introduction of the single word "Bless," he was accustomed to say "Bless and Sanctify with Thy Holy Spirit these Thy Creatures of Bread and Wine and make them to us the Body and Blood, etc." The Lord's Prayer immediately followed the Oblatory Prayer and then was said the Prayer of Humble Access before the Distribution. All went well for the first six months, but when the news of George Smith's consecration arrived, it was thought that this had been done with a view of dividing the congregation in Newcastle. Hanby assured Griffin that, provided no more changes were introduced into the service, Smith would lack the power to do them any harm. Then came the episode of the proposals of Smith and Blackburne, which

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 467.

² *Ibid.* f. 369.

³ *Ibid.* f. 465.

had the effect of further disturbing Griffin, and increasing his sense of unsettlement. It appears that from this time Griffin had determined to return to Oxfordshire at the earliest opportunity. On the 2nd March 1728/29 he had ordained to the diaconate one William Fothergill, a schoolmaster, in the expectation that Fothergill would consent to receive in due course priests' orders and succeed Griffin in the charge of the congregation. Hanby thought that this was a very unlikely suggestion, and recommended Griffin to take a brief holiday. The congregation had known Fothergill so long as a layman that his authority would not be duly regarded nor would his salary be so well paid. There was also the question of possible action by the Bishop of Durham, who, if he heard of Fothergill taking such orders, would be down upon him and the chapel, and shut up his school and bring ruin upon the man and his family. Griffin persisted in his determination to return, and on the 21st January 1729/30 a meeting of the congregation was held to consider the matter, at which grief was expressed at the approaching separation which "might break up one of the best congregations in England." Griffin promised to remain on condition that he was allowed to use the New Communion Office. This proposal was violently opposed by Hanby, but in a letter to Brett he admitted that the whole congregation were willing to retain the four Usages¹.

Brett thought it his duty, as the bishop responsible for the care of the congregation, to write to Hanby pointing out that it had been a matter of great difficulty to arrange for the sending out to them of John Griffin as their pastor. He had now heard with surprise that some were now transgressing the Apostolic command: "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you and are over you in the Lord, etc." When their pastor used a form most agreeable to the primitive form of any extant, he was treated with opprobrious language. It may be noted in passing that this language was very different from that made use of by Brett in his recent negotiations with Smith and Gandy. It is evident for the moment that Brett had reverted to his old standpoint and had abandoned hope of re-union with his old friends².

¹ These details are derived from a letter of Dr Hanby to Brett, 27th February 1729/30 (Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 47), and also a letter from W. Fothergill to Brett, 8th January 1730/31 (*ibid.* vol. VIII, f. 129).

² Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, f. 85. Brett to Hanby, 14th February 1729/30.

Griffin continued at Newcastle under protest, and once more at the Easter Festival of 1730 made the proposal to introduce the New Office, but gave way to the determined opposition of a section of the congregation. As the year went on some further proposals for re-union began to be developed. The scheme which had been suggested in the former year had failed upon two points: (1) the insistence by Brett upon the public and open Mixture; (2) the refusal of Gandy and his party to sanction any alteration whatever. Reference has been made to Campbell's renewed proposals for joining together in all offices in which there was no difference of opinion. He would not extend his toleration so far as to communicate according to the English Liturgy (which he regarded as essentially defective), but he was prepared to welcome "our old friends" to their altars and this was, so far as it went, a reversal of Collier's policy. Brett appears to have gone through the form of obtaining the consent of his two colleagues, but he was prepared to go much further than this. He renewed negotiations with Smith, and in the second series of proposals he finally lost the support of both Campbell and Griffin. In May 1730 Brett had endeavoured to allay some suspicions which were aroused by the report of renewed negotiations. He wrote to Laurence that the proposals were likely to be renewed, and acknowledged that he had changed his opinion as to the dead being excluded from the prayers of the Church by the words *Militant, etc.* He had also adopted Smith's view as to the "implied" Invocation in the English Liturgy. He confessed also that he had altered his opinion about the *Oblation*. The rubric added in 1662, directing the Oblations to be placed on the altar by the priest, did in Brett's present opinion defend the English Liturgy from the charge of being essentially defective, although he still thought the New Office "exceedingly preferable." In a letter to Griffin sent at this same time, Brett expressed a hope that Griffin would not obstruct the Union and pointed out that if an agreement was reached the Newcastle congregation would be placed under the care of George Smith, and so Griffin's "banishment" might be brought to an end¹.

The principle on which Brett was now prepared to act was that he should no longer consider in a state of schism those on the other side who had consented to the proposed scheme of 1729. On

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xviii, ff. 145 and 147.

the 12th May 1730, Smith wrote to Brett thanking him for his attitude of toleration and expressing the belief that Mr Doughty was the principal cause of delay in the settlement. Smith himself proposed to use the Mixture openly according to the Instrument¹. The news of this revival of correspondence between Brett and Smith was the immediate cause of the departure of Griffin from Newcastle. He left the town early in June 1730 on a journey to Manchester, and to all appearances was intending to return in due course, but on the 12th June Griffin wrote to Brett from Manchester:

I cannot any longer officiate in the manner I have done at Newcastle, and therefore am venturing into my own country. I take the freedom to acquaint you with my intention that if you think proper to provide a minister for that congregation you may have the earliest notice I can give you. Mr Mawman is now at Newcastle but I have not told my design to him or to any one else in that place, so that the way is open as when I first went there². The reason of Griffin's visit to Manchester will probably have been imagined. He was visiting Thomas Deacon, who wrote on the back of Griffin's letter a request relating to his own family affairs: "Mr Griffin is now with me and I have now an opportunity of having my children sealed (or, as it is commonly called, confirmed). This cannot be done according to our present rubric without some dispensation³." The desired dispensation was obtained, for on the 28th June 1730 (according to information relating to the Deacon family which was supplied to the present writer by the late Mr Edward Deacon of Bridgport, Connecticut), Bishop Griffin administered confirmation to the three eldest surviving children of Thomas Deacon, Thomas Theodorus, Robert Renatus and Charles Clement, all of whom gave their lives in connection with the Rising of 1745.

On the 18th June Griffin wrote to Fothergill in Newcastle, informing him that he had heard from Dr Brett that the Union was all but accomplished, and as he could not agree to it, he did not propose to return to Newcastle. Great pressure was brought upon Griffin, both by the congregation and Bishop Smith, to reconsider the matter, but no impression could be made, and on the 4th July

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 7.

² *Ibid.* f. 27.

³ The difficulty which Deacon felt related to the "Questions and Answers" in the Confirmation Office which Deacon submits have in reality nothing to do with Confirmation.

Griffin suggested that as Mr George Smith had it in his power to supply them with another minister they had better apply to him. The result was that Smith himself took over the charge of the cause in Newcastle, and from this change of pastorate there followed some important results. At the same time as the resignation of Griffin on terms which practically implied a secession from Brett's communion, Campbell wrote to Brett a letter which is important as showing the first indication of a *rapprochement* between Campbell and Laurence. The latter had called upon Campbell and had evidently won him over to his own way of thinking. Campbell expressed in this letter a keen regret that Brett had ever given his consent to these proposals without consulting the inferior clergy. The three Usages other than the Mixture were by no means secure; in point of fact they were as good as dropped¹. It is strange to see Laurence, who had often and justly been rebuked by Campbell for his intolerance, coming by degrees to regard Campbell with respect, and in the end to acknowledge him as "our Catholic Bishop."

The position of George Smith at Newcastle was not enviable. What he desired was that his colleagues in London should consent to send a presbyter to supply the place of Griffin. This involved, of course, the sanctioning of the open Mixture. Smith could not for the present, at least, go back on his word to Brett, and the congregation in Newcastle would not be satisfied unless the Mixture was made openly before the people. Smith's colleagues in town were not willing to make this concession. It appears to have been at this time that Blackburne withdrew from his original standpoint and became a strong opponent of the Union. Bishop Doughty died on 19th July 1730, and to all intents and purposes George Smith's colleagues in town were now represented by Gandy and Rawlinson. Henry Hall, who died on 15th November 1731, took a small share in the negotiations which are now about to be related, but his influence in the movement was always regarded as very slight. The desertion of Bishop Blackburne was the cause of great disappointment to George Smith. The language which he used in connection with the matter was afterwards very violent in tone, but at this period he merely stated that he feared "that Mr Blackburne has not been very sincere." George Smith was prepared to a certain

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 29. Campbell to Brett, 16th June 1730.

extent, at least, to take his own course, as will be seen from a letter addressed to Brett on the 31st July 1730:

I desire them to determine one way or another; if they will not send one down on the terms proposed, I have plainly told them I must then take them under my own proper care, being resolved not to see so flourishing a congregation divided, which must inevitably be the case if the terms proposed are not complied with. I hope this will bring them to a speedy resolution to comply with my request. If it does not, there are four of us here who will take turns to go over on Sundays, and as for occasional duties one Mr Fothergill, who is a deacon, will, I believe, be willing to go into priests' orders to put him in a capacity for performing them¹.

The bishops in London declined to nominate on these terms, and the work at Newcastle was carried on at least for twelve months on a scheme not unlike a Wesleyan preachers' "plan." The four who took their turns were George Smith, Timothy Mawman, Burden of Sedgfield, and a presbyter named Rowe. By this means it was arranged that the people in Newcastle should (in the words of George Smith) "have both Prayers and Sacrament every Sunday."

These pleasant prospects at Newcastle were marred by an unfortunate schism. An account of this latest separation is given in a letter from Hanby to Brett dated 16th October 1730, in which Hanby complained of Griffin's "desertion," and stated that the invidious reflections which Griffin was accustomed to make on the English Communion Office had caused a schism. Some refused communion with Mr George Smith and his presbyters, and had set up a communion served by a presbyter named Lowthian². Further light is thrown on the subject by a letter which was written by Griffin himself to some of his friends in Newcastle. It is headed "To Mr Bronne and Mr Lawson," and directed to Mr George Bronne at his house without Pilgrim Street Gate in New Castle-on-Tyne, Northumberland, and signed ✠ J. Griffin³. In the course of this

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 41. Fothergill was ordained priest by Bishop Smith on Sunday, 25th July 1731.

² Richard Lowthian, of St John's College in Cambridge, was ordained deacon by Mr Spinckes in Gray's Inn, 8th March 1723/24; priest by the same bishop in the same place 30th March 1725. It does not at first sight seem probable that this man was the Lowthian referred to above, but Brett informed Campbell that Mr Lowthian at the first was on the side of George Smith. (College Papers, No. 376. Letter of Brett to Campbell, 13th February 1730/31.)

³ The prefixing of the ✠ before the episcopal signature was the constant practice of Laurence and Deacon and the bishops who followed them.

letter Griffin expressed grief at hearing of the divisions, but did not know why he should be blamed. The greater part of the congregation were for the Union, to which he could not agree. He learned that some were offended because he had declared that he was not in communion with the Church of England, but he had surely made it clear when he was with them. He had never used the Established Liturgy without alterations, because he believed it to be essentially defective:

If you can satisfy your consciences in complying with this Union with the Church of England, let not me be the bone of contention. But if you cannot satisfy your consciences in that, but are willing to comply as above and to stand its consequences, I am ready at all times to give you all the assistance you require.

There followed a reference to the Mr Lowthian who had been mentioned by Hanby, and it appeared that Griffin was prepared to authorize some pastor to continue the work, if he was desired to do so¹. Lowthian's career was short and undignified, and in the end Griffin was compelled to disown him. For the moment, however, the new separation caused considerable perplexity to Brett, to whom both sides appealed, asking him for a declaration that he was "with" them. It may appear strange to state that both contending sections received Brett's approval. It has been pointed out previously that a man of Brett's type of mind does not excel in controversies of this nature, and it is certain that Brett began to feel the force of the reproaches which were heaped upon him by the combatants of either party. On the 17th October 1730 he had written to George Smith as follows:

I don't look upon you and our brethren at Newcastle to be of an opposite communion to us. We differ indeed in our terms but we have the same meaning, intent, and purpose in our different forms of expression....Our form indeed is plainer and more full to these points, but as you declare you mean the same as we do, we are not opposite to one another. And pray let my brethren in Newcastle know that I approve of your practice there².

It had once more been found impossible to make any headway in the negotiations with Bishop Gandy. The great difficulty at the moment was the public use of the Mixture. Considerable informa-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 81.

² *Ibid.* f. 113. Letter from Brett to Smith quoted by Laurence.

tion of the correspondence of this period is to be found in Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, in which it is stated that Brett wrote to Gandy on the 19th September 1730:

that we insist upon the public use of the Mixture, because we learn from Justin Martyr and the ancient liturgies that it was always mixed openly...that as they have not been used to mix the cup, they may very easily though undesignedly forget it sometimes; but if it be done publicly, there may always be some persons near enough to put them in mind, if they should forget. And for this reason our people cannot be sure that they have a mixed cup, when it is to be mixed privately.

Brett and Gandy both found it impossible to give way on this point, although Smith, on the one hand, and Wagstaffe, on the other, hinted plainly enough to Brett that the matter was not worth fighting about. Wagstaffe had pointed out to Brett that such a stalwart as Thomas Deacon had expressed complete indifference on a detail of this nature. But Brett would not give way, and on the 19th September 1730 he wrote to Laurence to inform him of his decision, and admitted that the concessions made in the Instrument were perhaps more than ought to have been yielded, and in a letter of the same date to Campbell similar sentiments were expressed. In November Brett wrote to George Smith stating that in his opinion the Instrument of Union would cause greater divisions and result in the creation of a third party of Non-Jurors¹.

At this juncture George Smith made a false step, which he afterwards regretted and repaired as far as possible. On the 8th November 1730 he preached before the congregation of Newcastle "Two Sermons" in which some very strong language was used concerning Griffin and those who refused the Concordate and carried on the schism in Newcastle². Brett was, naturally enough, appealed to by some of the persons attacked to state whether or no he approved of the use of this language. Brett at the moment despaired of Union and did not attempt to justify Smith's method of controversy. Writing on the 12th December 1730 to Fothergill, who had asked him to define his position, Brett said that as to

¹ Laurence, *Indispensable Obligation*, pp. 41, 64, 65.

² Smith is said to have compared his opponents to Lucifer and his fallen angels. There appears to have been some exaggeration in the account of the actual words used, but there is no doubt that Smith's language was sufficiently emphatic. He did not fight in kid gloves.

those who cannot accept the English Communion Office he does not blame them for joining Mr Lowthian. He acknowledges that the Oblation and Invocation are not found very clearly in the Established Office. If Mr G. S. or anyone else will declare they are there, Brett will communicate with him, but not otherwise. He cannot approve of the two sermons recently preached, sending all to the devil who differed from the preacher. As he now despairs of a Union, Brett will keep to the New Office "choosing rather to stick to the communion of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the first and purest ages, than with the particular church, wherein I live, when it deviates from that primitive church¹." In a letter written on the 15th January 1730/31 to George Bullman, a goldsmith of Newcastle and a member of the congregation there, Brett expressed himself in still plainer language. He desired Bullman to let the people in Newcastle know that he cannot communicate with George Smith after his recent sermons, and that he remains entirely in communion with John Griffin.

Here may be closed the account of the second stage in the peace negotiations. It appears, from a superficial point of view, that the outlook was hopeless. There will, however, be related in the next chapter some developments which will cause little surprise to the reader who has noted the weakness of Brett's position. The estrangement between Smith and Brett was not of long duration, for the latter had made up his mind to make one more sacrifice for the sake of a Union which, when accomplished, was of a partial nature and obtained only at a great cost.

There is here annexed a continuation of the list of pamphlets drawn up by Thomas Wagstaffe and printed on pp. 63-65. It is headed "Pamphlets relating to the 'Later Controversy.'"

41. The Church of England proved to have a prayer for a Blessing upon the Elements and also to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice in answer to what Mr C., Dr Brett and Mr T. W. have wrote to show the contrary; by Mr S. of Durham...sent in MS. to Dr B., Mr G. and Mr W. in September 1729, after being perused by H. G., H. D., and R. R.

42. Concordate².

43. R. L.'s MS. Remarks.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, ff. 154, 157.

² This was apparently the first Instrument of George Smith which was rejected by his own side.

44. Answer (in MS.) to above by G. S.
45. Second draft of a Concordate "rejected by the presbyters."
46. Representation of the presbyters (signed).
47. Protest signed by M. Earberry and R. Gordon, 5th July 1731.
48. Answer by G. S. to Mr L., 9th August 1731.
49. Two discourses by G. S. (this is described as almost the same as No. 41).
50. *The Indispensable Obligation*, by R. L. (It is stated that this was printed and given away in July 1732.)

Several of these pamphlets will receive notice in the course of the next chapter.

THE RE-UNION SETTLEMENT

THE NEGOTIATIONS RENEWED—DEATH OF GRIFFIN—PROTEST OF
PRESBYTERS IN 1731—WILLIAM LAW'S PEACE EFFORTS—THE IN-
STRUMENT SIGNED—THE NEW SEPARATIONS—CONSECRATION OF
LAURENCE AND DEACON

THERE are now to be related the circumstances under which the negotiations between the two opposing sides of the Non-Jurors were renewed and brought to what may be regarded, in some sort, as a successful issue. The early months of the year 1731 were marked by a correspondence in which charges and counter-charges were bandied about very freely. Laurence took his fair share in this unhappy business, and appears to have interfered in the affairs of the new separation at Newcastle. It became certain, as the dispute developed, that Griffin, Laurence and Deacon could never be reconciled to the scheme of Smith and Brett, but there was some expectation that Campbell might be won over. The relations existing between Brett and Smith at this time are not easy to understand. Although Brett had definitely stated that he was not in communion with Smith, the correspondence between the two men was not interrupted, and Brett came in the course of a short time to think of the "Two Discourses" with less severity of judgment. One great influence in the direction of peace was to be found in Brett's resolve to abandon his contention for the public Mixture. He yielded with great reluctance and was never entirely happy in the matter, but the concession was absolutely necessary if negotiations were to be resumed with any prospect of success. One or two smaller considerations lent their influence in the same direction. A violent personal dispute had arisen between John Blackburne and Richard Rawlinson concerning some private matter. As previously stated, Blackburne had by this time arrived at a standpoint of complete hostility to the Union, and Rawlinson had expressed a desire to stand "neuter." A study of the correspondence of this time justifies the inference that Rawlinson's adherence to the Union was hastened by bitter personal dislike of Blackburne. Rawlinson may certainly be said to have been a dangerous enemy.

The other influence came from Robert Cotton, who had recently

succeeded his nephew as Baronet, and his son, John Cotton. The family were about to set out for Angers, and were desirous of a settlement of the dispute in order that they might obtain the services of a chaplain who would be agreeable both to father and son. John Cotton, in particular, pressed home the necessity of a settlement. In a letter to Brett on the 15th June 1731 he expressed the opinion that "our friends seem to allow us what is absolutely necessary¹." It must be remembered that the influence of the Cottons always counted for a good deal in the affairs of the Non-Jurors. On the 23rd May 1731 Smith wrote to Brett to inform him that he had sent a copy of another Instrument to his colleagues in London, in which provision was now made only for the Mixture of the Chalice privately. "Mr Gandy and Dr Rawlinson are in favour, but Mr Blackburne (although it was his own proposal) is against, and is getting up a party amongst the presbyters." Smith speaks bitterly of Blackburne and proceeds to say that Mr Carte has written to Bishop Atterbury for his opinion, which is expected to have great weight with some people². "Mr H. Hall is expected to support the Instrument³."

The next step which Brett proposed was to arrange a conference between the bishops of the two communions in order to draw up a final agreement and submit it to their respective presbyters. A fairly full account of these proceedings is given by Laurence in his *Indispensable Obligation*, and it should be noted that neither Brett nor Smith made any attempt to deny the accuracy of Laurence's story. It is clear that Brett sent out a formal notice to his colleagues to attend this conference. Thomas Brett of Sussex replied on the 17th June 1731:

I have received your letter and am heartily glad that you have recovered your health. Mr Laurence told me (when I was in town at Easter last) that you were then very ill and feared on that account they should be forced to send for me when Mr Griffin came to town. But since it has pleased God to restore you, I hope I may be excused. A 60 miles journey does not comport with 81⁴.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 183.

² In a catalogue of papers in the Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 157, there is mention of a Copy of a Letter from Atterbury to Carte from Paris, 19th May 1731, but the contents are not preserved. Bishop Smith, however, in a letter to Bishop Gillan, 17th October 1732 (Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 2055), states that this Instrument received the approbation of the late Bishop Atterbury.

³ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 173.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 181.

Griffin was now suffering from dropsy in a very extreme form. Thomas Hearne, writing to Rawlinson, 22nd July 1731, states:

The last time I saw him (which was more than two months since) was in Mr Richard Clement's shop in Oxford. He was quite drowned in dropsy and was in a very weak condition and I easily saw he could not conquer it and knew it full well himself¹.

It was not, however, from considerations of health alone that Griffin declined to attend the proposed conference. The Protest of Mr Griffin, 30th June 1731 (about a week before he died), carefully preserved by Brett among his papers, will supply a complete account of Griffin's attitude towards the latest methods adopted by Brett:

Whereas I am informed that you are now come to London in order to treat about and conclude a Coalition with our old friends, the other Non-Jurors, I do hereby declare and protest against your carrying on and finishing the same Coalition without the advice concurrence and consent of the rest of your colleagues, the Bishops met together with you, and your Presbyters. And I desire this may be registered amongst the Acts of our Church. Witness my hand, Sarsden, 30th June 1731.

Under this is written in Laurence's hand:

London, 5th July 1731. Delivered the above protest (as above directed) to the R. Rev. Bishop Brett, LL.D., by authority and in the name of the said R. Rev. Bishop J. Griffin in his letter dated Sarsden, *Prid. Kal.* July 1731, empowering me to do so.—Roger Laurence.

Under this again is written,

Delivered as above in the presence of me—John Clark².

This protest was evidently delivered personally, and Laurence stated that Brett informed them that he had decided to abandon the public Mixture although two days earlier he had expressed the contrary opinion.

It is an open question whether Brett went through the formality of sending an invitation to Campbell. He knew perfectly well that Gandy and his colleagues would refuse to meet Campbell on any terms. It should, however, be noted that in a letter to George Smith, dated 10th August 1731, Brett stated that he had received

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. x, p. 439.

² Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 197.

a protest against "clandestine methods" from both Campbell and Griffin. Laurence mentioned in his account a protest of a "Catholic Colleague who was excluded," which would appear to refer to Campbell, and the terms as detailed by Laurence are identical with the protest of Griffin which has already been quoted. It may therefore be inferred that the two bishops made separate protests drawn up in identical terms. The result was that Brett was left to meet the opposing bishops alone. The meeting was held, as was the case with similar assemblies, in great secrecy. The place is not known and the date is uncertain, but it was probably on the 3rd July 1731, which was two days before Brett received the formal protest of his colleagues. This is confirmed by allusions in the account of the matter by Brett to Smith, and the incident shows that Brett was disposed to hurry the completion of the affair as much as possible¹.

The meeting was attended by the following bishops: Gandy, Blackburne, Hall, Rawlinson and Brett. It has been assumed by some writers that Smith "must" have been present because he joined in the consecration of Mawman at this time. It is not a convincing style of argument to assume infallible consequence even if the facts are correctly reported, but in this case the fact is that the traditional date of Mawman's consecration is not correct. It did not take place till 1737 and George Smith was not present in London during the whole period of these negotiations. In the course of the conference, Brett is reported to have said: "Gentlemen, We can do no good while Mr Blackburne remains"; whereupon Mr Blackburne withdrew and the remaining four bishops agreed on an Instrument the full particulars of which are given both by Laurence and in a letter sent by Wagstaffe to Brett on his return from town under the date of 3rd July 1731. Wagstaffe's account of this Instrument is given below:

Whereas an unhappy Misunderstanding has happened between us the Sufferers in one common cause for conscience sake, concerning the Communion Office in the Established Liturgy, therefore that for the future an exact uniformity may be preserved amongst us; We (being empowered thereunto by the following in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer "Forasmuch etc.") do make the following Order and Declaration.

¹ Brett's visits to town were always short on account of "want of money."

I. We order that a little Water shall always be privately mixed with the Sacramental Wine before it be placed on the Altar.

II. We declare that the words "Militant etc." shall always be used as part of the title for the prayer for the Whole Estate of Christ's Church; yet the following words in the last clause that "with them etc." shall be understood to be the same in sense with those words in the Burial Office "that we with all those that are departed etc."

III. We declare that the Church, appointing the priest to place so much Bread and Wine as is sufficient upon the Table and afterwards in the following prayer to beseech God to accept our Oblations, intends that she should both acknowledge God to be the sovereign donor of these good things to us and also offer them in order to the Sacrificial Ministration according to the Institution of Jesus Christ in remembrance of His Death and Passion.

IV. We declare that in the prayer of Consecration the Church in that petition "Hear us etc." intends to bless, that is to pray to God to bless and sanctify by His Holy Spirit the elements before offered.

V. In this section there are contained directions to consecrate more than necessary rather than less so that second consecrations may always be avoided¹.

VI. We strictly enjoin all presbyters in communion with us to use the established Communion Office and no other after (this date was left blank for future determination).

This was the Instrument to which Brett and the bishops on the other side agreed. If it is compared with the Instrument prepared by Smith and quoted on p. 132, it will be seen that the differences are not very material, but all of them favour the side of Gandy and Smith, rather than that of Brett. The Instrument does not appear to have been signed in the strict sense of the term. It will be seen, however, from the continuation of the story which is given by Wagstaffe, that these terms were strongly recommended to their presbyters by the Non-Usager bishops. The following covering letter was sent to the presbyters as an explanation of what the bishops were prepared to recommend:

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having considered and approved of the above written proposals for an Union do

¹ The directions in the English Liturgy for additional Consecrations presented great difficulty to Brett. They certainly cannot be interpreted in any other sense than that the Consecration is solely effected by the recital of the Words of Institution.

recommend it to our brethren for their approbation and consent and desire them to appoint as soon as possible a meeting amongst themselves for the purpose and send back their opinions thereon to

Hen. Gandy: Hen. Hall:
Ric. Rawlinson: Geo. Smith

3rd July 1731.

by direction to R. Rawlinson¹.

It was Brett's intention to refer the same document to his own presbyters, but, as the event will show, this plan was not carried into effect. Brett did, however, consult his two colleagues, John Griffin and his namesake of Sussex, and the answers that were returned to him could hardly have afforded him satisfaction. Griffin wrote from Sarsden on the 5th July 1731:

I was very much surprised to hear of your going to Town, so long before the time yourself had appointed and specially upon a business so different from that you proposed in your letter of the 5th June. It would have been kind of you to have given notice of your intentions to all our brethren and to have allowed time for deliberation and conference, advice and counsel, in a matter of so great importance. But when I found that you had otherwise determined, I sent up my protest against so rash a proceeding, which protest I suppose has been delivered to you. I return you my thanks for sending me the form of the Declaration you intend to subscribe, concerning which all the answer I can return at present is that I desire to be excused from signing or subscribing to it².

This letter is one of the last acts of John Griffin. He died on the 8th July 1731, and was buried in the middle of the old chancel of the church at Churchill. A partially obliterated inscription runs as follows: "Sub hoc marmore conduntur reliquae JOHANNIS GRIFFIN, A.M.—Viri pii et eruditi qui obiit July 8 A.D. 1731 Aet. Suae 51." The entry in the register records the burial of "John Griffin, Clerk." Griffin was described by Hanby at Newcastle as of a morose and uneven temper which may have been due in part to the progress of his fatal disorder. His character stands high in respect of

¹ A slightly different form is preserved in the College Papers, f. 6, p. 96. "To our brethren of the clergy...You are desired to meet your brethren on Tuesday next at 4 at Mr Gandy's Oratory to consider proposals for an Union with our old friends and to return your opinion thereto as soon as may be by such persons as you shall appoint thereunto in writing." The signatures are as above. The date is given as 9th July 1731. The document is signed by Robert Gordon as a "true copy."

² Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 213.

devotion to what he conscientiously believed to be his duty, and it may be agreed that the story of his pastorate in the bleak north is not entirely wanting in pathos. The effect of the removal of Griffin from the scene of the acute controversy in which Brett was engaged deserves careful estimation. If Griffin had lived he would have been the natural head of the party which was about to develop under the leadership of Campbell, Laurence and Deacon, and in that case it is probable that Brett of Sussex would have deserted his more famous namesake, who would then have been called upon to face the world alone.

The reply which Brett received from the "old gentleman" in Sussex must have caused him both surprise and regret. It is dated 7th July 1731 and was addressed to Dr Thomas Brett at Mr Burton's, a printer, in St James's Lane, London, where Brett had a lodging during the progress of these negotiations.

Varietas opinionum et unitas opinantium non sunt असंसतता. And why then may not we (each side) retain our office and yet live as brethren, love one another, converse amicably together and join in all those holy offices wherein we are agreed. As to the Communion if they are resolved to adhere to the old office—so be it, why should we be offended? And why should they if we retain the new one? As for my part I think the alterations which have been made so reasonable and unexceptionable that if it shall please God to prolong my life to any more opportunities of waiting on His Sacred Altar, I shall (after all) presume to use the New Office. And I hope without offence, since they are willing to interpret theirs to our interest¹.

Brett of Sussex was doubtless a "good easy man" but he was not always disposed to give way to his namesake. There is some reason to believe that Laurence had influenced his opinions as two letters of Mr Brett are quoted in Laurence's book.

The first is a letter written by Brett of Sussex to Thomas Wagstaffe, apparently in reply to a letter from the latter urging him to come into the Union:

After all what shall I say, what can I do? I have already told Dr Brett that I am resolved to adhere to our New Offices. And if I were in town, it can't be supposed that I could divert him from those measures he has designed. However, if he desert us, there will some remain, I trust, who will continue our present Usage.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 211.

The second letter was written to Laurence himself on the 31st July of the same year. "To London I cannot come, but I have wrote an answer to Dr Brett and therein told him that I have resolved to adhere to our New Office¹."

This determined attitude of opposition on the part of Mr Brett was not long continued. The subsequent story will confirm a remark of Laurence in a later portion of his book that

Mr T. B. was never personally present at any Church Conference or debates *pro and con* about this matter, but was drawn in to sign the clandestine agreement only by a private epistolary correspondence and this in direct inconsistency with his holy resolution made known last year².

For the present, however, Dr Brett of Spring Grove was deprived of support from either of his two remaining colleagues, if Archibald Campbell may be reckoned among the number. It will not have escaped notice that three distinct parties had developed as a result of the formal presentation of proposals based on *Declarations*. There was the extreme left, now since the death of Griffin represented by Laurence and Deacon, with Campbell as the nominal head; secondly, there was the central party of Brett and Smith, with the more or less complete adhesion of Gandy and Rawlinson; and, finally, there was the party which was composed of the bulk of the presbyters who had previously adhered to Gandy and who were now actively led by John Blackburne. There is now to be considered an important move which was made by the members of what may be described as the "right wing." The clergy, in response to the summons of Gandy, Hall and Rawlinson, met at Mr Gandy's oratory on Tuesday, 9th July 1731, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. They "sent back" their opinions to their bishops in a document of portentous length. It is clear that the pace of life in the eighteenth century was slow and peaceful compared with the hurry and bustle in which the life of the present day rushes to its end. The habit of abbreviation was unknown, and the worthy men who indignantly refused to agree with their bishops expressed their independence in a treatise the very summary of which, as given by Thomas Wagstaffe in his report to Brett, would fill many pages. For the present purpose, it is necessary to shorten this summary, but as no previous writer has been able to deal with this question,

¹ Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.* p. 85.

a little space must be devoted to it. There were three main divisions in this "representation."

(1) The first few paragraphs maintain the opinion that Dr Brett represented the party which had violently begun the schism. The members of this section ought to recognize that what is principally needed is that they who had wilfully left the Church should return to it. Brett himself is twitted with being twice in schism within a few years; in 1715, and again in 1717.

(2) Strong objection was taken against the whole policy of Declarations and in particular the Mixture of the Chalice was said to be forbidden or at least at variance with the teaching of the Church of England. The rubric as it now stands (so the representers declared) "was made just as it is for no other end but to remove the order for the Mixture."

(3) Free criticisms were levelled at the bishops for the policy which they had formulated, and under this head rude things were said about George Smith: "Our oldest presbyters had been obliged to see one raised to the height of the episcopal power, who six weeks before had been known to them as a country layman." The representation was signed by the following: Robert Orme, John Creyk, William Law, Richard Butler, Robert Nixon, John Ball, Alexander Smith, Joseph Hall, Richard Russell, John Lindsay, Thomas Bennett, F. Sewell¹. Several of these names have already appeared in the story. Robert Nixon was ordained priest by Henry Gandy on 13th June 1717 in Mr Earberry's chapel, and the name of John Ball, Christ Church, Oxford, appears in Overton's List. Information concerning another of the signatories is obtained from one of Rawlinson's fragmentary notices in his MS. of Ordinations, etc.:

On 7th November 1747 *obiit* Rev. Alexander Smith, Scots Episcopal Clergyman, at his lodgings in Bennett Street near Strong's (?) passage, Westminster, and was buried near Dr Hickes and Mr Bedford in St Margaret's Churchyard, 10th November 1747.

Alexander Smith had lived in London for many years. He was recommended by Bishop Rose to Spinckes on the 24th November 1719².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 215.

² See Rawlinson MSS. J. 4^a 12, p. 121, and College Papers, f. 6, p. 18.

The name which will attract the notice of every reader is undoubtedly that of William Law. There is a certain amount of evidence to the fact that Law was the "pen-man" of the remonstrance. Thomas Bowdler, writing to Brett from Queen's Square on the 20th August 1731, first mentions this report, which was repeated by George Smith in a letter of the 10th September, and it may be noted that Law never denied the truth of the accusation. There is in existence a copy of a letter from Law to Smith dated the 8th October 1731 in which Law evaded in a very peculiar manner the question of the authorship of the representation. In the course of this same letter Law made some further interesting comments. He regretted the language which was used by the protesters to the bishops. As for himself, he thoroughly believed in the disputed points, but not that the Church has them not. The following passage may be worth quoting in full:

A fine form of Oblation is a fine part of this service, as it tends to direct and employ the mind well on that occasion. But surely they much mistake the nature of this service who think that this Oblation is not made but under a certain form of oblatory words¹. In view of the opinions expressed in this letter, the reader will probably agree with George Smith, who expressed inability to understand how Law came to sign such a document as the Representation of the Presbyters. Whether Law was the "pen-man" of this document or not, there is no doubt that he signed it, and the story of his connection with the later stages of the negotiations makes very curious reading, and to a certain extent throws some new light upon his opinions and character. Brett had appointed his presbyters to meet him the day after the presbyters of the other side had considered the matter, but as "these cast it aside he had no terms of Union to propose to them²." The meeting was postponed until the 24th July. The date is fixed by a letter from Samuel Jebb to Brett dated the 23rd July and asking to be excused from attendance at the important convocation to be held on the next day. Jebb had to attend to a case of smallpox at Walthamstow and could not be free. At this meeting it was decided that "though we could continue to use the New Office, we would as we had opportunity join in the prayers with our old friends and communicate

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 88.

² *Ibid.* vol. XVIII, f. 175. T. Brett to G. Smith, 10th August 1731.

with them in all things where there is no difference between us¹." Laurence was present at this meeting, and in the account which Brett gave to Smith of the affair he seems to have concluded that "Mr L. himself readily consented to it²." Here is another instance of Brett's sanguine turn of mind. He soon had to confess that Laurence's consent was too rashly assumed.

The plan of intercommunion in the "Prayers" was soon put to the test, and an event occurred which showed that Brett's flock was seriously divided on the subject. On a certain Sunday afternoon in August 1731, Dr Rawlinson presented himself at the time of service at Wagstaffe's chapel in Dunstan's Court, Fleet Street, and offered to read prayers for him, but Mr Linkfield (or Linfield), his nephew and housekeeper and three ladies promptly left the chapel³. Wagstaffe (who had on his side said prayers on a week-day at Mr Gandy's chapel) was very indignant and desired Brett to take strong action. He suggested that Brett should draw up a canon declaring that there was no longer a state of schism, and threatening penalties against any person who should so withdraw themselves and, if possible, let the canon be duly signed by Mr Brett of Sussex⁴. There are some indications that Brett went to the extent of threatening excommunication against those who opposed his scheme of intercommunion. One of the few letters of Thomas Bowdler which are preserved in the Brett MSS. apparently refers to this matter. Bowdler wrote to Brett referring to a report of an excommunication which he can hardly believe. His own personal position in these matters was that he had always remained neutral; he liked the Usages but thought they might be purchased too dear⁵. Bowdler was prepared to support Brett in his schemes but evidently did not believe that force could be used profitably in such a connection. Laurence once more entered into the fray with a violent letter of protest against Rawlinson's "intrusion," and in view of the widespread feelings of suspicion and uneasiness it may be agreed that Brett was glad to return to his country retreat. Bowdler's name is associated with another matter which illustrates the feeling

¹ This meeting appears to have taken place at Mr Carte's chambers. Nicholas Brett in his *Considerations* refers to the fact that he was present as a youth in his father's company at the conference in "Mr Carte's chambers."

² Brett MSS., vol. xviii, f. 175.

³ *Ibid.* vol. viii, f. 233. Wagstaffe to Brett, 29th August 1731.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 239.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 203.

of the principal laymen of the Non-Jurors' Communion concerning the negotiations. On the 10th July 1731 there was drawn up a "Laymen's Paper." The contents are as follows:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, considering the ill consequences that have attended our long division are therefore very desirous of a Re-Union, and having seen some directions and declarations agreed upon by the R. Rev. Mr Gandy, Dr Brett, Mr Hall, Dr Rawlinson and Mr Smith, we declare our great desire that all persons would give their ready assent to the same.

The paper was signed by the following: For my Father, Sir R. Cotton and myself, John Cotton; Thomas Bowdler, W. Bowyer, James Bettenham, Thomas Martyn, William Bedford, George Gordon, R. Pulleyn, W. Wight, James Butler, Edward Bayley, George Strahan, Richard Tyreman¹.

There is no evidence that this recommendation was formally presented to anyone, but a copy was forwarded by Robert Gordon to Thomas Wagstaffe, who reported the matter to Brett on the 12th October 1731. The paper must have been an encouragement to Brett and Smith, for at this time they were labouring in waters which were rough and deep.

The partial breakdown in the negotiations had an effect on the question of the provision of a chaplain for Sir Robert Cotton and his son, who had now returned to Angers. In the expectation of the completion of a Union it had been agreed that John Lindsay should be appointed to this post, and all arrangements had been made, even extending to the personal preparations of Lindsay himself, but the fact that he had signed the representation of the presbyters made the nomination unsuitable. John Cotton would not now accept it, and Brett's influence was also thrown into the scale against the appointment. Considerable ill-feeling was aroused between Brett and Lindsay as a result of the fact that Brett was responsible for the disappointment which was naturally felt. The incident is trifling in itself, but it did not tend to diminish the personal animosity against Brett which was undoubtedly cherished by some of the disaffected presbyters who now ranged themselves under the banner of John Blackburne. In the end, the post of chaplain to the Cottons was filled by the appointment of Thomas

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 289.

Bedford, second son of Hilkiah Bedford¹. Bedford was some eighteen months under the canonical age for ordination, according to information given in a letter from George Smith to Brett 1st October 1731². Smith was of opinion that it was a very good case for a dispensation, and evidently this suggestion was acted upon. Rawlinson's record was fragmentary: "Thomas Bedford was ordained deacon ; priest on St John's Day, 27th December 1731, by Mr Gandy in his own Chapel³." Bedford proceeded to Angers, taking with him as his companion Nicholas Brett, the favourite son of Thomas Brett. References to the life of these two young men in Angers will be made in a later chapter.

The attitude of the refractory presbyters was the cause of great indignation on the part of Thomas Brett. In a letter addressed to Robert Gordon on the 1st September 1731, his attitude to these mutineers is clearly indicated:

I thought John Creyk, being the chief, or at least one of the chief managers, having lived with and being conversant with persons of the best quality would have taken care that nothing should have been inserted into it but what became the deference due to those they acknowledged their superiors, and such good breeding as might be expected from those who had kept the best company. I understand the remonstrance was compiled by William Law. I should have expected better reasoning and closer arguments from him than I find here. He argued much better many years ago when he wrote against Bishop Hoadly, but then he had a good cause to manage, which he now wants⁴.

Brett was not content with making a protest, but took upon himself to deal with the refractory presbyters by means of direct correspondence. This course may have been heroic, but was certainly not prudent, for the presbyters in question acknowledged no allegiance to Brett and treated him with scant respect. Creyk and Lindsay were selected as the chief opponents. The former was a very truculent correspondent, and went so far as to return a letter

¹ Thomas Hearne has a word to say in approval of this young gentleman. "Thomas Bedford, younger brother of William Bedford...a very pretty youth... he gave up his Fellowship at St John's College, Cambridge." *Remarks, etc.*, vol. x, p. 131.

² Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 267.

³ There is no trace of Bedford's ordination as deacon but his promotion to the priesthood is confirmed by several letters in the Brett collection.

⁴ From the papers in the possession of Major R. J. K. Mott.

of Brett's unopened. A letter addressed by Lindsay to Brett on the 19th September from Symmond's Inn is worth quoting as showing the standpoint of these "factious presbyters" in the most favourable light.

The principles I profess are those of the Church of England, which in one of your excellent books is affirmed (as I verily believe it) to be nearer to the Primitive Church than any Church in the world, and whilst I am so persuaded I should think myself utterly inexcusable if I should depart from her for anything that is not demonstratively essential to salvation. I need not mention to you, Sir, the solemn promise and obligation I bound my own conscience in, when I was honoured with the character I now bear in that Church; but I think myself thereby debarred from concurring in any formal act that is inconsistent with its constitution.

Lindsay proceeds to express great doubt as to the four Usages being compatible with the Church of England—"therefore the agreement cannot be concluded on those lines." He repudiates Brett's suggestion that he had signed the representation on the mere *ipse dixit* of a friend. Brett had urged submission to the Bishops, to which Lindsay replied that a college of Presbyters must have some authority and right of independent judgment¹. Finally, Lindsay added the following in a postscript:

The last year I had occasion to give Mr Smith my thoughts on this subject at large, I had the happiness then to have my own judgment approved by all his brethren then in town and if we differ now I am sure the change is not in me².

The large defection of presbyters was the cause of great embarrassment to Gandy and Rawlinson, but there is reason to believe that they were entirely loyal to the agreement which they had made with Brett. Rawlinson wrote to Brett on the 7th September bitterly complaining of the action of the presbyters, and George Smith, who was in a position of distant security and was, moreover, seldom content to maintain a defensive attitude, expressed his mind with great freedom to Brett in a letter of the 9th September: "I hope that John Creyk's power will not always last. When his bag is drained I am apt to think those who now join with him will sing another tune." Smith rejoiced to hear that Brett and his presbyters

¹ This is evidently a sly reference to Brett's *Authority of Presbyters asserted* (1712).

² Brett MSS., vol. viii, f. 263.

will suffer their people to come to our prayers. He thought that Mr Blackburne was "a very vile man."

I understand Mr Law is the penman of this paper whom I don't take to be that meek and humble man he would make people believe he is; his conduct in this whole affair shows him to be one of the proudest men living....I would fain have had him consecrated before me, but he would not come near Mr Gandy etc., and I am very glad he did not for as I have understood since, he has very odd principles as to Church Communion and thinks it an indifferent matter where he goes, and as to John Creyk, I know him thoroughly that he was never of us and though he communicates with us, yet I am sure he thinks it no crime to go to the public.

Smith proposed, in conclusion, to issue a few small tracts on the subject of the Oblation, etc., in order to show that the Instrument is not contrary to the Church of England¹.

It will be agreed that Smith's language is tolerably strong as coming from a leader of the central party. It will be of interest to learn what Blackburne, the bishop of the right wing, who now took these disaffected presbyters under his own proper care, had to say on this subject, and it happens that Brett preserved in his papers a copy of a letter written by Bishop Blackburne to Bishop Gandy on the 29th September 1731:

Though you are pleased in very tender parts to act without either my knowledge or consent, yet I assure you the same Usage shall not be returned by me. I have received a letter dated September 19th 1731 by the direction of the person whom I most honour, in which are the following words: "Our friends here are surprised at some late proceedings among you. It is odd that the bishops should presume to alter the Church of England²."

There is now quoted a letter from one who had been reckoned of the communion of Gandy, but whose relations with Thomas Brett had from the first been of a confidential nature. Robert Gordon wrote on the 14th September 1731 from Red Lion Street a letter to Thomas Brett on the subject of the "representation." He spoke in contemptuous terms of Creyk, and mentioned that Mr Browne

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 251.

² *Ibid.* f. 275. An endorsement made by Brett on this letter suggests that the person to whom Blackburne referred was Daniel Williams. The identity of this person is uncertain, but there was at the Court of the Chevalier a chaplain of the name of Williams who died in 1734 and was succeeded by Thomas Wagstaffe.

and Mr Harbin (both original Non-Jurors) condemned the subscribers and the representation. Gordon advised Brett to steer a middle course between Creyk and his party on the one side, and Mr Laurence and Mr Campbell on the other¹.

In the meantime, Brett was in the midst of serious difficulties with the presbyters who were under his immediate control. He had probably long since abandoned all hope of retaining the allegiance of Laurence, who, after addressing Brett for years past by the ceremonious title of "Most Rev. Father," had now come to write in terms of bare civility. Thomas Wagstaffe, however, was a man of another calibre; he had been for some years Brett's principal representative in town, and it would have been disastrous to have lost the support of a man of real distinction. Wagstaffe was at this time greatly concerned about the possible results of the negotiations. He disliked Brett's scheme for partial intercommunion before any Concordate was signed. Wagstaffe's congregation steadily declined, and the people were disturbed by the "inconsistency" between the past and present opinions of their leaders, and this uneasiness would, in Wagstaffe's opinion, be greatly increased if the New Communion Office was abandoned².

At this juncture, when the future seemed to hold nothing but further dissensions, new proposals were made from a source which will appear to the modern reader both appropriate and characteristic. On the 1st December 1731 Robert Gordon forwarded proposals for a Union which had been drawn up by William Law. These were brought to Mr Gandy by Law in person, "who since the last letter from my brother S(mith) has changed his mind and is now heartily at work for Union³."

Law's proposals were as follows:

It is agreed amongst us constantly to put a little Water into the Wine that we use at Holy Communion.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 257. Note should be taken of the pamphlet No. 47 at the end of the last chapter, which contained a protest of Gordon and Earberry, probably against the Representation. It is evident that Mr Browne and Mr Harbin were also out of sympathy with this policy, but it is probable that all the remaining clergy in London "went over" to Bishop Blackburne. For Harbin see Overton's *Non-jurors*, pp. 203-5; also *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 73. The name of Thomas Browne (1654-1741), Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, appears in Overton's List. This is probably the same as the man referred to in Gordon's letter.

² Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 300 *et passim*.

³ *Ibid.* f. 333.

We declare and believe that the Liturgy enjoined to be used by the Church of England contains all things necessary and essential to true Christian Worship in these three points, viz.:

(1) As to the Oblatory parts of the Eucharistic Service, whereby the Holy Elements are presented to and offered to God by way of Sacrifice.

(2) As to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit for the Consecration of the Holy Elements.

(3) As to prayers for the Faithful Departed.

We believe and declare that the Liturgy of the Church of England is in all these points, as to the substance and reality of them, truly conformable to the first Liturgies of the Christian Church, though not in the same fullness and particularity of expression. We profess our desires and hopes that the same authority which first established the Liturgy may in God's good time bring it to a more full particular and verbal agreement with the most Primitive Liturgies in these points; till which time we declare our resolution of abiding by the use of the present English Liturgy.

It is agreed that at a general meeting of our brethren on both sides we embrace one another with a kiss of charity, and burn in the presence of us all every copy of every writing that has passed between us upon this occasion, that there may be no memorial left of any misunderstanding that has happened amongst us, but that we may from that day be all pardoned by all in everything that is past, and to the end of our lives be truly brethren in Christ of one heart and one spirit in one communion¹.

One or two brief comments are made on these proposals. The opening sentences which declare that the Established Liturgy contains all things necessary to true Christian worship present a flat contradiction of the convictions which impelled Collier and Brett in 1717 to arrange for the compilation of a New Office. The fact that these proposals were hailed with delight by Brett suffices to show how completely he had abandoned the standpoint which he adopted in his *Liturgies* of 1720.

It may further be noted that the word "direct" is not found in Law's pamphlet, but the words "we agree" are substituted. In the final form of the agreement it will be seen that all attempts to order or direct conformity were definitely abandoned.

It is difficult to understand how Law could have taken a leading part in the production of the representation of the presbyters and after an interval of a few months have produced a scheme of Union

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 333.

which was conceived in a spirit totally different from that which was to be found in the famous Protestation of the 9th July. However this may be accounted for, it will be generally agreed that the spirit which pervades Law's proposals is such as might be expected from the tenor of his known writings.

The circumstances under which the proposals were submitted are not fully known, but it is clear that both George Smith and Thomas Bowdler had a hand in the proceedings. In a letter written by Thomas Bedford to Brett on the 18th December 1731, an account is given of an interview which the writer had with Thomas Bowdler, whose health was now fast failing. Mr Bowdler asked if Dr Brett had replied to Mr Law's proposals, and seemed disturbed by the news that no reply had yet been received. He desired Mr Bedford to write to the Doctor and in his name beg him to make a settlement on these lines¹. Dr Rawlinson was also consulted, and Law appears to have found him an awkward customer to handle. There is evidence that he said some rude things about Rawlinson, which is obtained from a letter in which Law apologized for insinuations which he had made. In view of the interest which attaches to the personality of Law, it may be well to quote this letter:

WILLIAM LAW to RICHARD RAWLINSON. (*No date.*)

In a letter lately written to Mr S(mith) I said that you seemed to me to act chiefly upon a principle of opposition to Mr Blackburne. I was led into that opinion by what you said to me of Mr B. and by what others had told me of you. I am now satisfied that I was guilty of a very uncharitable suspicion. I therefore renounce what I have there said and sincerely condemn it and ask pardon for it...I choose rather to send you this acknowledgement under my own hand than to wait on you in person, that you may show to whom you please my acknowledgement of an injury done to you and my hearty sorrow for it².

The reception by Brett of these proposals was extremely cordial. A long letter was directed by Brett to Law on the 14th December 1731, a careful copy of which was preserved. Brett was still smarting under the treatment which he had received at the hands of the refractory presbyters. He mentioned the fact that John Creyk had returned to him a letter unopened, but hoped for more civility at

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 339.

² *Ibid.*

the hands of Mr Law. He had indeed been surprised to see the name of Law among the signatories to the document which had caused so much trouble, but the fact that Law had now made such excellent proposals fully restored him to Brett's esteem.

Brett had evidently been hurt by the suggestion of the presbyters that he had been twice in schism within a space of two or three years. He informed Law how he had been accustomed to practise after his reception by Bishop Hicke, who directed him by word of mouth. This practice would have satisfied Brett if he had not been excommunicated by the other side, and so forced to join Mr Collier.

And then indeed I charged the Church of England as defective in necessary points. And if she does indeed forbid the Mixture, makes no Oblation of the Elements, no prayer for a blessing on them, no petition for the Faithful Departed which these gentlemen¹ and others give me reason to believe she did, then, that charge of mine is just. But if she allows the Mixture etc. and be so declared to do by those who have authority to declare how the Liturgy is to be understood, then I disclaim and retract that charge.

After this preliminary exercise of self-defence, Brett assured Law that his proposals were acceptable with one exception. There should be a direction always to avoid the necessity of a second consecration of the Elements. So far as the presbyters were concerned, this might be regarded as sufficient. Something else was, however, needed which may be related in Brett's own words:

In order for our satisfaction and that we may be able to give a reason why we believe these points to be contained in the Liturgy which we could not find there before, we must also have a declaration from your bishops to the following effect. "Whereas it has been disputed whether in the Established Liturgy of the Church of England there be (1) any Oblation of the Elements to God by way of sacrifice, (2) any Invocation of the Holy Ghost for the Consecration of the Elements, (3) any prayer for the Faithful Departed, some having maintained that these points were not provided for in the Established Communion Office and others maintaining the contrary, which has occasioned doubts concerning these matters; to appease this diversity and for a resolution of these doubts, We (being empowered thereto by the clause "Forasmuch") do declare etc."²

¹ That is, the presbyters who signed the Protestation.

² Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 97.

The declaration as worded by Brett was practically identical with that which had been agreed upon by the bishops in July 1731 and need not be repeated. The letter of Brett to Law, which has just been quoted, was sent in the first place to Wagstaffe, who submitted it to Gandy. After reading it, "the good old gentleman," as Gandy was now commonly called, approved of it and handed it to Robert Gordon for transmission to Law, to whom the letter was formally re-addressed¹. It will be seen from the careful way in which those who were most concerned were informed of all the details that business was intended to be done. Nevertheless, the declaration which was suggested by Brett was not liked by the other side. On the 25th January 1731/32 George Smith wrote to Brett questioning the necessity of any further declaration and pointing out that he and his colleagues had already signed and defended these very same proposals. Law himself replied to Brett to the same effect, adding that the policy of a further declaration would probably make trouble with Mr Blackburne. It became evident that the task which Law had undertaken was difficult and uncongenial. He was not particularly well qualified for diplomatic efforts of this kind, and in the end he resigned it into the hands of one who was certainly able to deal hard knocks as well as to receive them. On the Feast of St Matthias 1731/32, Dr Rawlinson wrote from London House to inform Dr Brett that Mr Law had suffered much for "his too great forwardness" and had desired Rawlinson to carry on the work. The doctor expressed pleasure to know that Brett would not press the preface to the declaration as suggested in his letter to Law. On the other hand, Law had mentioned to Rawlinson that the presbyters on his side demanded to see a paper signed by the opposing bishops before any more steps were taken. Would Dr Brett let him know whether this request could be complied with? Brett made no difficulty and wrote at once to Wagstaffe giving him a draft of the declaration. It was to be addressed to "Our dear brethren and fellow sufferers, Mr H. Gandy, Mr John Blackburne, Dr R. Rawlinson and Mr G. Smith." It is not necessary to quote this declaration in full. It set forth at some length the reasons which had led Collier and Brett to prepare the New Office, and contained the statement that offers had frequently been made to withdraw it if terms could have been arranged. Grateful

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 343. Wagstaffe to Brett, 1st January 1731/32.

recognition was made of the fact that the bishops who are addressed in this letter had promised constantly to use the Mixture and also to make a Declaration which would remove many difficulties:

if therefore, you, our good brethren, agreeably to what has been proposed to us, will sign such a declaration, then we and our presbyters will with great joy and most hearty zeal and affection reunite ourselves to you in full communion. And we faithfully promise that when this agreement shall be perfected and the terms of it put into a proper term to which we may all put our hands we will forbear at a day to be fixed by common consent any longer to use our New Office, and make use only of that Office prescribed by the English Liturgy¹.

Brett desired that Thomas Wagstaffe, Thomas Carte, and Dr Jebb should write a copy of this declaration to Mr Brett of Sussex and press him to sign it. He appears, however, to have written a personal letter to his namesake which is dated 3rd March 1731/32, giving him a *résumé* of the negotiations since September 1729 and adding the remark: "Now matters have come to this that the other side desire to see our signatures²." The signatures were duly attached to this document, which is preserved among the papers of Major Mott. It is signed by both the Bretts and dated the 29th March 1732.

The Union seemed now to be all but actually accomplished, but a further and final attempt was made to wreck the scheme from the side of the presbyters who had made the representation in 1731. The difficulty now raised turned upon a curious point which does not seem to have been advanced at any previous period of the movement. An anonymous letter had been sent to Henry Gandy in November 1731 protesting against communion in spiritual matters with Dr Brett who was disabled by an offence against *Praemunire*. The offence, according to this unknown correspondent, consisted in the preparation and use of the New Communion Office. There is little doubt that either Creyk or Lindsay was responsible for this accusation. It may be taken as another instance of the fact which has been previously noted that the Non-Jurors did not think on logical lines. For, granted that the preparation of a new Liturgy was an offence against *Praemunire*, so also, it may be contended, was the consecration of bishops and the ordination

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 103. Thos. Brett to Thos. Wagstaffe, 26th February 1731/32.

² *Ibid.* vol. xviii, f. 218.

of priests. The idea which lay at the back of the mind of those who advanced this contention was that, so long as the constitution of the Church of England as it stood at the Revolution was unimpaired and unaltered, the Non-Juror bishops and they alone were responsible for preserving the life and continuity of the Church. Collier and his followers, according to this theory, had wilfully and without authority altered the constitution of the Church, and so, both technically and as a matter of fact, became liable for punishment as offenders against *Praemunire*.

The matter was not allowed to drop, and on Sunday, 19th March 1731/32, a paper was delivered to the "Very Rev. Mr H. Gandy," which bore the signatures of Mr Orme, Mr Jos. Hall, Mr John Creyk and Mr Nixon. Wagstaffe describes this as "Creyk's insolent paper." It was drawn up in the form of a declaration or, more properly speaking, a submission which it was desired that Brett and his colleagues should make. They were to confess that when they compiled a New Office they misunderstood the English Liturgy. They were to declare that they now saw those points to be in the English Liturgy which they could not believe to be there when they separated from the Church. As to the Declarations, Brett must acknowledge that these did not imply any additional or authoritative amendments of the English Liturgy. The Liturgy was not rendered by the declaration any fitter for use than it would have been without it. Finally, Brett and his clergy were to make a complete abandonment of their whole position in these words:

We thus declare ourselves returned to the old doctrines and old practices of the Church of England as it was when we left it, unaltered and unamended in any the smallest matter, either of doctrine or practice, and upon this return to the established doctrines and practices of the English Church, we desire to be received into communion with our brethren from whom we had departed¹.

It is true that there is no direct mention of *Praemunire* in this document, but it was always understood that a charge of this description was held in reserve by John Creyk and his companions. Brett appeared to have taken this matter greatly to heart, as will be seen from quotations from two letters. On the 5th April 1732, he wrote to Smith: "These people will not admit me unless I come in without any declarations on your part and unless I declare

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 7.

on my part against the essentiality of the Mixture. I still believe that whoever omits this offends against Christ's Institution¹." On the 15th April, Brett wrote in similar terms to Gandy, in which he pointed out that Creyk and his party now asked them to admit that those things are already provided in the English Liturgy which the same men in their representation denied to be there. Brett argued on legal grounds that no offence against *Praemunire* had been committed, and recorded his conviction that Blackburne and his party were not prepared to admit any of Brett's friends except as lay communicants².

There was another strange development about this business. Both Brett and Smith were convinced that William Law had once more been won over to the other side. Brett writes in a restrained manner about Law's second change of mind. He did not think him insincere, but very much under the direction of John Creyk. He attempted to correspond directly with Law as appears from a draft of a letter which was written about this time³. The argument is, briefly, that the presbyters in the representation of 1731, to which Law was a signatory, distinctly denied that the four points were in the Liturgy. In this new document Brett is asked to declare that these four points are so contained and therefore need no declaration to establish them. Brett desired to know for what reason Law had changed his mind since he made the proposals at the beginning of the year. There is reason to believe that Law made no reply to this letter, as Brett made a marginal note to the effect on his copy of his own original letter.

George Smith, as was his custom, used much stronger language. He expressed great surprise at Law's conduct:

Our primus in reversion and his chief counsellor, John Creyk, have for some time got him over to their party.... They have condemned you to all the pains and penalties in a *Praemunire* and say you are incapacitated to do any legal act.... Mr Law now believes it as much as *Primus Secundus* himself.... Mr Law is a very weak or a very insincere man or else he would not act as he does, so contrary to his own proposals and professions⁴.

William Law now disappears from the scene so far as any direct connection with the main body of Non-Jurors is concerned. He

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 13.

² From a letter in Major Mott's collection.

³ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. IX, ff. 1 and 5. George Smith to T. Brett. The "Primus Secundus" is, of course, an instance of ridicule of John Blackburne.

was, however, regarded by such an authority as Robert Lyon of Stretton (who will enter in these pages in a later chapter) as one of the chief members of Bishop Blackburne's communion¹. The reader will form his own opinion of the value at which the strictures upon Law made by George Smith and others are to be estimated. It is understood that the strange and contradictory accounts of Law's conduct in these wearisome matters are given to the world simply as a contribution to the cause of historical accuracy and research.

It had now become evident that the refractory presbyters of the right wing could not be conciliated, and the negotiations were resumed with the certain prospect of the formation of two communions on either wing of the main body. George Smith proposed that immediate action should be taken, though against the consent of these people "who will never be satisfied...their pride and hatred of both you and me makes them exert this furious opposition." Smith's contention was that "we (that is, the bishops) have the sole authority to conclude this affair²." Brett was prepared to adopt the same course with his presbyters and even, in case of necessity, to sign the Instrument without the consent of his colleague in Sussex. It appears, however, that Mr Brett decided to fall in with the proposals, and in due course gave his formal and written consent. There was no attempt at any further consultation with any of the presbyters, and the actual settlement was made by the bishops alone. Nevertheless, Brett made one or two eleventh hour efforts to obtain some concessions or alterations. It will have been noted that little has been said of Archibald Campbell in the account of these negotiations beyond the fact that Campbell heartily disliked the whole scheme. There are indications that Brett did his utmost to get Campbell into the agreement in some way or other. He had written a letter to Campbell himself on the 22nd April 1732, stating that he now believed the Oblation to be *explicitly* and the Invocation *virtually* retained in the English Communion Office, and assuring Campbell that he would be glad of his accession. A further letter to Wagstaffe of the same date suggested that Mr Carte, Dr Rawlinson and Wagstaffe himself might wait on Mr Campbell³.

¹ See R. Lyon to Bishop Alexander, 20th March 1741/42 (College Papers), reference to Blackburne's party "of which Mr Law has always been a principal pillar."

² Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 1.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xix, ff. 20 and 21.

It is unnecessary to say that these suggestions were entirely useless. There was a further point concerning which Brett hoped to gain some concession. It referred to the use of the word *agree* which is found in the final form of the Declaration. The letter, which is here quoted, from one of the leading figures on what is now, for the last time, styled the "other side," shows how little reason Brett had to expect that any concession would be granted.

R. RAWLINSON to THOMAS BRETT, *April 9th 1732*

Rt Rev. and dear Sir,

Yours of the 6th inst. came safe to my hands, whose contents nothing surprised me, as I had seen them in another to Mr Wright. I am indeed very much concerned that I can make no farther concessions than those already signed, except as to making both the articles correspond by the word "agree," without making any farther directions, which we have already done in these terms, viz.: We *agree* to consecrate etc. More particularly I must adhere to what I have ever required, a private mixture, for let Mr L. or Mr C. think or express themselves as they please, they must know from the paper laid before them that this was then only desired, and I know the consequences of omitting this material Term will be very dangerous and even Mr L. etc. will improve this omission to their advantage. Conformable to this notion I ever yet have and must continue still to act, and for the truth of this I need but appeal to Mr Gordoun and Mr Smith. I don't indeed take aright the force of your motives to me, as to this complaisance being a defence against the insults offered, as those we are convinced we don't deserve and as long as we act conformable to this scheme we shall have reason to support our courage to despise them. The consequences of Mr Arch. (Campbell) being not introduced into or not consulted about this affair, I am not fearful of, as he is a Governor of another Church, (if not as some say removed) and therefore has nothing to do with us and his interfering formerly, was, most think, the source of this unhappy division, and as such I must desire to be excused from any more than a civil correspondence with him. This, R. Rev. and dearest Sir, you have, though in short yet as full as possible the opinion of yours most affectionately,

R. R.¹

¹ Copied from the original now at St John's College, Oxford.

There is preserved in Major Mott's Papers a copy of an "Instrument" dated 6th April 1732. It contains the phrase that "we do faithfully promise for ourselves and all priests under our care and direction that we will constantly put Water into the Wine, etc." These were presumably the proposals to which Rawlinson replied on the 9th April.

It will now be seen that Brett was reduced to considerable straits before the time arrived for the final signature of the Instrument. He had long since abandoned his plea for the open Mixture and the transference of the Oblatory Prayer, and now he was forced to accept the word *agree* in place of *direct*. Gandy, in particular, was "very scrupulous not to sign anything that looked like an injunction¹." As a last and bitter pill, Brett had to swallow the affront put upon his friend Campbell, for whom, in spite of serious differences of opinion, he maintained a strong personal regard. It would appear, however, that notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude of Rawlinson, Brett made a final effort to save something from the wreck. All that he accomplished was to bring down upon himself the wrath of George Smith in a letter dated the 30th April 1732, in which the writer expressed great regret that Brett had returned the Instrument unsigned and thought that he ought not to have disappointed them in that manner.

Your writing to Mr Campbell before the thing was concluded was in my opinion another wrong piece of conduct...I don't think it is at all proper for him to sign an agreement made by bishops of the Church of England. He has no jurisdiction here...the short of the matter is this. If you don't think it proper to sign what is already agreed on, neither you nor I must think of Union any more².

So late as the 6th May Brett made a last appeal to Gandy to omit the word *privately* in connection with the clause containing the agreement to use the mixed chalice, but the end had now been reached. A copy of the Instrument of Union dated 17th April 1732 is here given:

THE FINAL INSTRUMENT OF UNION

Whereas an unhappy misunderstanding has happened between us the sufferers in one Common Cause for Conscience sake, concerning the Communion Office in the Established Liturgy, therefore that for the future an exact Uniformity may be observed amongst us, We do make the following declarations and agreement, viz.:

I. We declare that though the words "Militant here on earth" shall always be used as part of the title of the prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, yet the following words in the last clause

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 19. Wagstaffe to Brett, 27th April 1732.

² *Ibid.* f. 23.

of that prayer "that we with them may be partakers etc." shall be understood to be the same in sense with these in the Burial Office "that we with all those that are departed in the true faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation etc."

II. We declare the Church, appointing the priest to place so much Bread and Wine as is sufficient upon the table and afterwards in the following prayer to beseech God to accept our Oblations, intends that she should both acknowledge God to be the Sovereign Donor of these good creatures to us and also offer them in order to the Sacrificial Ministration of Jesus Christ in remembrance of His Death and Passion.

III. We declare that in the prayer of Consecration the Church in that Petition "Hear us Oh Merciful Father etc," intends to bless, that is to pray to God to bless and sanctify by His Holy Spirit, the elements before offered.

IV. We agree that a little Water shall always be privately mixed with the Sacramental Wine before it be placed upon the altar.

V. We agree to consecrate at first rather more than is sufficient for all the communicants that there may never be any need for a second consecration.

Sic Subscribitur.

HENRY GANDY

RICHARD RAWLINSON

Richard Rawlinson

proct GEORGE SMITH¹

And we being satisfied with the promises and declarations made and signed by the R. Rev. Mr Hen. Gandy, Dr Richard Rawlinson and Mr George Smith do readily and cheerfully return to full communion with them and do faithfully promise to lay aside the Office we now use from and after the 1st September next ensuing in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and thirty-two and to administer the Holy Eucharist according to the Form prescribed in the Established Liturgy of the Church of England.

THOS. BRETT, LL.D.

THOS. BRETT, A.M.

The date affixed to this Instrument is the 17th April 1732, which was the date of the signatures of Gandy and Rawlinson. Brett signed the Instrument on the 26th May, and from a letter of Thomas Wagstaffe, dated 24th June, it appears that Mr Brett of Sussex signed about the same time.

¹ A copy from the original now in the possession of St John's College, Oxford.

Mr Brett has signed both papers and I carried them to Mr Gandy from whom in a day or two I shall take back that which belongs to us. Mr Smith has also sent up two copies of his acknowledgement of Dr Rawlinson's signing by his deputation, one of which I have just received¹.

Some further information which is worth quoting is obtained from a letter in the collection of Major Mott. It bears no date, but was addressed to the Rev. Robert Gordon and was delivered by hand:

Dear Sir,

Saturday, 3 o'clock.

I have just this moment received the paper from Mr Brett of Sussex and I have the pleasure to tell you that it is signed by him as well as the doctor. I beg if possible you will let me see you and talk with you about the delivering it to Mr G. because if you think it necessary I will go with it this evening notwithstanding the badness of the weather which is the reason of my giving you this trouble. For otherwise I would have waited upon you with it but you know my infirmity and will be so good as to excuse me with my services to Mrs Gordon and Mrs Bedford.

I am, dear Sir,

If Dr Rawlinson be
at your house bring
him along with you.

Your most affectionate brother
and humble servant,

THOMAS WAGSTAFFE.

The reply of George Smith confirming the signature of Dr Rawlinson on his behalf, is as follows:

I having received a very particular account of the Instrument of Union lately signed by the Rev. Mr Gandy, Dr Brett, Dr Rawlinson, and also by Dr Rawlinson in my name and by direction from me, This is to certify that I heartily approve of Dr R.'s putting my name to them (*sic*) and congratulate the Church and my colleagues on this happy occasion and I desire that this my full certificate of my full consent to what is agreed upon may be lodged in the same hands with the Instruments. Burnhall. June 2nd 1732².

The agreement was concluded on very different lines from those indicated by Canon Overton. So far from the Usagers having "won all along the line," it is hardly overstating the case to say that the Usagers really abandoned their whole position. The original dispute did not turn so much upon the beliefs which underlaid

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 27. Wagstaffe to Brett.

² One copy of this authorization is preserved in the Brett MSS., the other in St John's College, Oxford.

the four Usages as upon the outward expression of these beliefs, and it was on this point that those who had always insisted on the use of the English Prayer Book without alterations won a complete victory. The point from which the Non-Usagers viewed the settlement receives illustration from a letter of George Smith to Henry Gandy dated 29th June 1732. The subject of the letter is a demand which had been made of Gandy by John Lindsay that Brett and his party ought to have been censured. In the course of this letter Smith clearly shows his opinion of Brett and his party before the Union. Censures, he points out, have to be used at the discretion of the bishops; "that was why our brethren were never excommunicated though I grant they did incur it." In a later passage Smith states, "Dr Brett etc. have publicly and notoriously enough revoked their errors and mistakes¹."

Language of this kind had a depressing effect on Thomas Wagstaffe, who pointed out to Brett that if the signing of the Instrument was to be regarded as a retraction there could not be any force or reality in the declarations made by the other side.

I think we have no ground to go upon so firmly as this of an authoritative interpretation of the Liturgy to our sense. And I think that the declarations fix a meaning upon the words which they either did not bear before or at least were liable to be suspected of not bearing².

The Non-Usagers had made some advance from the extreme standpoint of the later tracts of the controversy of 1717. This was pointed out by Brett to Campbell in a letter of the 22nd April 1732³:

The author of No Reason contended that the Mixture and Prayers for the Dead were unscriptural...the declaration reverses this...They have brought us to their use of the Liturgy, and we have brought them to acknowledge our principles.

After making all due allowance for these considerations it is obvious, however, that George Smith's view of the Instrument could not be identified with that held by Wagstaffe. One result of the un-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 29.

² *Ibid.* f. 39. Wagstaffe to Brett, 18th July 1732. It appears from a letter of Brett to Gandy, 31st July 1732 (in Major Mott's collection), that Brett desired another Instrument to be signed by the Non-Usager Bishops formally admitting the two Bretts as their colleagues and all such of their presbyters as had laid aside the New Communion Office, but there is no evidence that this was actually carried into effect.

³ College Papers, No. 413. Correspondence of Brett and Campbell.

certainty which was caused by such differing interpretations was the total dispersal of Thomas Wagstaffe's congregation.

Bishop Blackburne now definitely set up a separate communion which was composed of almost all the presbyters in London who had formally adhered to Mr Gandy, and a third party was established under the leadership of Archibald Campbell, who was now from this time forward saluted by Laurence by the title of "our Catholic Bishop." It may be contended with some show of reason that the severe condemnation, which has been passed upon Campbell by previous writers, requires considerable qualification. It cannot be forgotten that Smith and Rawlinson declined to admit Campbell to their communion on any terms whatever, and that Brett was compelled to abandon his old friend. These facts should be borne in mind when judgment is pronounced upon Campbell for the action which he was about to take in consecrating two bishops *solus*. A defence which he himself gave of his position in a letter to Brett, written on St Andrew's Day, 1732, will be noted with some interest:

I do believe the Holy Scriptures and the Three Creeds as so many just summaries of the *Credenda*. I am in communion as you lately was, with the Primitive Fathers of the Catholic Church. ...and I do heartily wish and pray for a restoration of primitive discipline also. By all which, I observe, as far as I am by God's help able, the noble rule of the Church of England's reformation from popery. I am in full communion with a whole National Episcopal Protestant Church. If I am a schismatic then Dr Brett etc. are consecrated in schism; Dr Hickes, Mr Collier and Mr Griffin died in schism; I am now what I have been for many years¹.

Whatever may be considered due to Campbell in the way of modifying the almost universal condemnation which has been passed upon him, there is little need to make a similar claim on behalf of Roger Laurence, who published in 1732 his *Indispensable Obligation of Ministering Expressly and Manifestly the Great Necessaries of Public Worship in the Christian Church; Together with a Detection of the False Reasonings in Dr Brett's Printed Letter to the Author of Two Discourses*. The title-page bore the following quotation: "If I build again the Things which I destroyed, I make myself a Transgressor." The book is a slashing attack on the whole

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 117.

policy of the declarations on which the agreement was made. Brett and Smith had to endure bitter and personal attacks. The main argument is that these matters were canonically and constitutionally settled by competent authority in December 1717, in which act Dr Brett took a leading part. The same doctor had now admitted that he was mistaken, and adopted the attitude that the Church of England is a "trimming" Church, and that her Liturgy is capable of varying interpretations. Laurence, on the other hand, contended that the Usages were distinctly forbidden by the Established Liturgy as it now stands. Brett and Smith were then attacked on the ground of the secret and underhand methods by which the agreement was made. It was nothing more than arrangement between some self-constituted leaders who would not open the discussion to others. Those who made and accepted these proposals without consultation with or consent of the presbyters have thereby cut themselves off from the Church. As to the policy of "Declarations," Laurence regarded this as stronger than the Roman doctrine of Intention, and on the principle of hammering at an idea until it is red hot, he applied to Brett and Smith the title of Romano-Protestant-Intentionalists¹.

There came to be a curious sort of *rapprochement* between Laurence and Blackburne, not, of course, in doctrine or practice, but on the common ground of attack which both parties intended to make upon Dr Brett and the Agreement. Laurence has nothing but smooth things to say concerning Blackburne, in the same book which contains thinly veiled personalities levelled at the heads of Thomas Brett and George Smith. An interesting letter which was written by Brett to the "Hon. Arch. Campbell," 2nd September 1732, contains reference to the charge of "trimming," which had been made by Laurence.

If the "trimming" with which I charge the Church of England be such a crime as you and Mr L. seem to think it, and as he represents it in his book, how will he and you as well as myself, justify our proposals to the Greeks for an Union with them in which there were a great many trimming articles? And if that Union had taken effect you would then have been a member of a trimming Church. Nay, if I should say that your Church, as it now is, trims in one of the controverted points that is in her prayers for the dead I believe I could maintain the charge for

¹ Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, p. 149 (Supplement).

you maintain that the soul after the departure from the body enters into a state of purification and endures pain or trouble or anguish while under this purification. On the other side Mr L. has declared against this purification with some trouble and anguish, and supposes the prayers of the Church only beneficial towards the improvement and increase of that rest and comfort the good soul enjoys immediately after its separation from the body; while you suppose the prayers of the Church beneficial towards its release from pain etc. Your Church hath trimmed in this case not determining the point one way or other. It has only declared that prayers for the Faithful Departed have been the constant practice etc., but you may understand the prayers in your sense, and Mr L. in his; your Church hath declared nothing in the matter, and it is such trimming as this with which I charge the Church of England, viz.: not expressly declaring her opinion as to the contested points but so ordering her Liturgy that those who differ in their opinions about them may understand them each according to his opinion. If such a trimming be a crime and the Church which in some points trims in this manner is not to be communicated with, then I believe there never was a Church upon earth with which a man might communicate¹.

It will be admitted that Brett made use, not without some considerable skill, of the notorious differences which had existed between Campbell and Laurence in the later years of Collier's primacy. It should also be noted that the extract quoted from this letter shows with great clearness the difference between Brett's belief in 1732 and that expressed at the time of the publication of his *Liturgies* in 1720².

In the year 1733, Brett made a formal and public reply to Laurence's attack in a book entitled *The Great Necessaries of Public Worship...Expressly and Manifestly Allowed and Provided for, etc.*

An amusing and characteristic story may be related concerning the publication of this work. Brett had conceived the idea that his

¹ This letter properly belongs to the Brett MSS. but is at present in the possession of Canon Ollard who kindly placed it at the disposal of the present writer.

² Brett's definition of "trimming" may be further illustrated from a letter addressed by him to Mr Bridger of Canterbury, a member of his flock who refused to follow his leader in the matter of the Agreement. "The Church of England has left a latitude for some opinions and does not think it necessary or expedient to exclude from her communion all persons who think differently of some things which are not so clearly revealed in Scripture." Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 181. Brett to Bridger, 22nd February 1732/33.

new colleague, Dr Rawlinson, would be pleased to "subscribe" to the cost of the book, and Wagstaffe duly made an application to the doctor on Brett's behalf. Wagstaffe's account of this interview is brief but suggestive. Dr Rawlinson was "very warm at being asked for money," and Wagstaffe registered a decision never again to apply for money in that quarter¹.

The tone of Brett's reply in this work is decidedly subdued, and the quality of the arguments is not very high. The writer was evidently fatigued with the long controversy and did not find it an easy matter to explain his change of conviction. He repeated his belief that the Usages are necessary, but contended that all the concessions which he had made might be justified in the interests of unity. The kindly temper of Gandy, Rawlinson and Smith received praise at Brett's hands, more especially as contrasted with some who "were refractory and obstinate and who seemed to have made a resolution never to communicate upon any terms."

George Smith published in the same year a reply to the "scurrilous libel" of Laurence in the form of an *Appendix to the Two Discourses*. The unrestrained language which appears in this pamphlet has caused some doubt as to its authenticity, but anyone who has read Bishop Smith's Letters contained in the Brett MSS. will recognize the fact that he did on occasion use language which, according to the standard of the present day, would be condemned as excessive and unbecoming. It was felt to be so by Thomas Brett, who made a mild request that the condemnation pronounced upon Laurence should be expressed in gentler terms, but Smith refused to admit that the language was too strong. There is no argument in this tractate which has not already been quoted in one or more of Smith's letters, but it may be added that Smith denied that prayers for the departed were essential to the due celebration of the Eucharist. The book contains an extraordinary amount of personalities, and Smith evidently enjoyed the task of quoting Laurence against himself.

There remain to be recorded one or two incidents, trivial in themselves but useful, as showing some light on the inner working of the Non-Jurors' movement at this period. In the summer of 1732, a clumsy and vulgar notice appeared in one or two of the

¹ Brett MSS., vol. IX, f. 161. Wagstaffe to Brett, 25th January 1732/33.

papers of the day purporting to record the death of Laurence. Brett refers to this piece of buffoonery in a letter to R. Gordon, 1st August 1732. He stated that the notice appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* of July 21st and began as follows: "On the 14th inst. (wasted with hard study) died the Rev. Mr Roger Laurence at Burnhall, Near Durham, and next day was buried at Newcastle-on-Tyne." Brett evidently did not like to think that "R. R." was the author of this piece of horse-play, although he strongly suspected it. Robert Gordon, who was far indeed from friendship with Laurence or enmity towards Rawlinson, was entirely convinced that "Dr Dick" was responsible for the matter, and it is significant that the doctor made no denial. Laurence never forgave what he regarded as a deliberate insult, and the feeling was shown on a later occasion by Laurence's widow towards the supposed author of the attack. After Laurence's actual decease in 1736, Rawlinson attempted to secure some of the altar furniture and fittings, and an encounter took place between the widow and the antiquary which the latter at least would not be likely to forget.

A sermon preached by Thomas Wagstaffe in 1732, immediately before the disuse of the New Communion Office, led to some re- crimination and confusion. The preaching of this sermon was one of the last acts of Wagstaffe as pastor of the chapel in Dunstan's Court. He himself gave Brett a full report in a letter dated the 1st September 1732. He had warned his people against seceding to a Church under the guidance of Mr Campbell who had preached heretical doctrine about Hell torments. Mr Collier had tolerated him, but there was a great difference between allowing a gentleman of heretical sentiments to continue in the Communion and making him the sole principle of Unity to it, as great a difference as there is between being headed by twelve apostles with a Judas among them and being headed by a single Judas¹. Brett did not admire this style of attack, and offended Wagstaffe to a considerable extent in consequence of a rebuke which he administered to him for the use of excessive and indecorous language. Brett's continued correspondence with Campbell was a source of disquiet to his new friends and colleagues, who repeatedly requested him not to have any dealings with the "foreigner."

Charges of heresy are as a rule dangerous things, if once they

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 73.

are launched, and in this case, a counter charge was made against a bishop of the recently united Communion which may certainly be regarded as unexpected. It was said that Mr Brett of Sussex was heretical, because he refused to recite the Athanasian Creed. The reply of the "old gentleman" to this charge was made in the form of a letter to Thomas Wagstaffe. It is worth recording on account of the curiously modern tone which Mr Brett adopted:

As to the Athanasian Creed I must confess I cannot tell how to pronounce that damning sentence "Without doubt he shall perish everlastingly," not that I doubt of the eternity of Hell torments; so far am I from that, "O Lord Most Holy...give us not over to the pains of eternal death" is my daily prayer, but know, Sir, that I constantly read the Nicene Creed and by this judge of my faith¹.

Dr Brett of Spring Grove did not escape attack himself, but not so much on grounds of faith as of practice. There had been at the time of the completion of the Union a correspondence between Gandy and Blackburne in which very plain language was used. On St James' Day, 1732, Blackburne had enquired whether it was a fact that Gandy had really signed the Instrument, and Gandy had replied, acknowledging the fact without hesitation and refusing to call a meeting of the presbyters. "Let them reverently obey their lawful superior as they solemnly promised when they were made priests." He pointed out to Blackburne that a space was left in the Instrument for his name, should he think fit to sign. "Pray remember, brother, who the persons were who first proposed the Union and particularly the Mixture and consider your own letters to our brother Smith²." In February of the following year, Blackburne again corresponded with Gandy on the matter of a supposed breach of the Agreement on the part of Dr Brett and under circumstances which show the existence of something very like a system of espionage.

I am credibly informed that Thomas Brett is Thomas Brett still; my plain and open meaning is that upon repeated advice he has deserted you, if it may not be more properly affirmed that he has renounced you. My voucher says he uses the open Mixture, and that he introduces the Introits in the New Communion Office, that he mangles the prayer for Christ's Church and inserts words unacceptable to us out of the First Liturgy of Ed. VI, and that

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 123.

² College Papers, f. 6, p. 96.

in the prayer of Consecration after the Words of Institution he makes a large unauthorised addition. As a man, as a Christian, as a Christian priest, I shall not descend to give this man's character, but it is my opinion if his instability does not shock you, you will treasure up something which will do you neither credit nor service. Not seeing therefore, the least pretence for your being longer bound by your agreement, if you shall think fit to spend the remainder of your days in the service of the Church of England, I for my part, shall look forward and not backward and shall not only give you my hand but also my right hand. If this tender shall in our deplorable state meet with your approbation, at your desire you will be cheerfully attended by yours,

J. B.¹

It is clear that Blackburne assumed or desired Gandy to believe that the Union was already dissolved. There was also a plain implication that Gandy and Rawlinson had by their adhesion to the Agreement forsaken the Communion of the Church of England. Blackburne claimed, if words have any meaning, that the refractory presbyters with himself at their head, were now the true remnant of the Church as it stood at the Revolution.

Thomas Wagstaffe appears to have had some information from other sources of this so-called defection on the part of his chief, and was evidently very uneasy about it. The story had been circulated by John Clark and others, and it is probable that Blackburne had obtained his information from this source. Brett was not without an explanation of his conduct. In December 1732, at the earnest request of Mr Bridger of Canterbury, he had administered Holy Communion according to the New Office, hoping thereby to gain him over. Brett admitted that it was a "wrong step." He gave a personal explanation of the matter in a letter written to Gandy on the 1st March 1732/33, in which he admitted that he had used the New Communion Office at Canterbury for some time in order to preserve his little congregation from falling into the hands of Mr L. He claimed that his policy had been entirely successful and that the congregation were now reconciled to the Established Liturgy. At the same time, he begged pardon of Gandy if he should be regarded as an offender, and promised to "do it no more²."

A further charge was made to the effect that Brett had mixed the

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 173.

² From Mr Mott's Papers.

chalice openly, which was met by the explanation that in the one small room at Canterbury in which Brett was used to minister, there was no possibility of doing anything which could not be seen by all the people. The excuses which Brett offered were accepted by Gandy, and the Union was not seriously weakened. Brett was, however, in decidedly low spirits on account of the stormy nature of this reign of peace and concord which he had striven so long to obtain. In a letter to Wagstaffe, 20th February 1732/33, he delivered his soul as follows:

As to the shocking consequences you tremble at, I have done trembling, for I think we are crumbled to nothing already. Mr L. on one side and Mr Bl. on the other side, seem to me to have carried away all the people and we are become shepherds without a flock¹.

An agreement between the two sections of the Non-Jurors in Scotland, which was made at almost the same time as the completion of the concordate in England, is of considerable importance. The last account of Scottish affairs which was made in these pages dealt with the agreement which was made between Bishop Gadderar and the College bishops in the year 1724. From that date onwards consecrations were made on either side of the question on similar lines to those which have been related in the story of the English section of the movement. In the year 1727, the Diocesan and Usager section gained a most important point in the consecration of Thomas Rattray by Bishops Gadderar, Miller and Cant, and in the same year, the Usagers further strengthened their position by the consecration of Robert Keith and William Dunbar. It has not hitherto been known that, before Bishop Gadderar was able to obtain the assistance of Bishops Miller and Cant, there was a serious proposal that two of the English bishops should travel to the north in order to ensure a canonical consecration which would place the Usager bishops in Scotland in a state of security. A letter is preserved from Thomas Brett to Bishop Gadderar in Aberdeen written on the 29th July 1727. In the course of this letter Brett states that he would have taken a journey to the north in case of necessity, but rejoiced to hear that "you have come to an agreement among yourselves as not to have occasion to call in the assistance of me or any other 'foreigner.'" Brett is thankful that

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 106.

“whereas on Gadderar’s return to Scotland he stood alone, he now has the majority on his side¹.”

The Scottish bishops had never entirely broken communion with each other, and the Agreement which was concluded in the early days of January 1731/32, was intended to make an end of all sectional consecrations. The details were given in a letter written on the 4th October 1732 by Bishop Gillan to George Smith². They may be summarized as follows:

I. Only the Scottish or English Liturgies to be used; no “Ancient Usages” permitted.

II. The consent of the majority of the bishops to be obtained for all new consecrations.

III. Presbyters not to proceed to election in case of vacancy without a mandate from the Primus and by the instruction and approbation of the other bishops.

IV. The Primus to be elected by the other bishops for purposes of convoking and presiding only.

V. Bishop Freebairn to be chosen Primus.

VI. Contains details of districts over which the various bishops were to preside³.

This agreement was signed by all the bishops except Lumsden of Edinburgh, who considered that his power as Vicar-General to the Primus through being Bishop of Edinburgh was not sufficiently recognized. He assented, however, to the first three articles. The difficulties in the interpretation of this document have reference to the meaning of the terms “Scottish Liturgy” and “Ancient Usages.” On the face of it, the reference must be to the Liturgy of 1637, but as a matter of fact, it was taken to mean that Liturgy as it was actually used, that is, with the prayers “ranked in their natural order⁴.” This meant in reality the same order of consecration as that of the New Communion Office of 1718. The Ancient

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XVIII, f. 56. There is a reference to possible assistance from England contained in a letter of Bishop Irwine on 18th February 1724 to an unknown correspondent, in which he mentions a rumour that Dr Brett and Mr C. are coming to Berwick, “which means trouble for this country.” See also letter of Brett to Campbell, 12th June 1727, mentioning receipt of a letter from Bishop Gadderar, stating that their assistance might be needed.

² Bishops Gillan and Ranken were consecrated in 1727 by the influence of Lockhart, the Prince’s Agent, in order that the College bishops might not be outnumbered.

³ Brett MSS., vol. IX, f. 91.

⁴ Bishop Dowden’s *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 65.

Usages were not the four points disputed in England, but such additional matters as Infant Communion, etc.

In forwarding these particulars to Bishop Smith, Gillan adds a pointed remark: "You have good reason to be assured that none of my colleagues will concur any more in the consecration of schismatical bishops at home or abroad."

The wording of this Agreement was perhaps of set purpose ambiguous, and naturally received varying interpretations. Campbell professed greatly to admire it, and expressed a wish that the agreement in England had been drawn up on the same model. Smith, on the other hand, regarded it as a testimony to the soundness of his own interpretation of the English Liturgy, because in the Scottish Agreement the English and Scottish Liturgies were regarded as being interchangeable. In this view he was supported by Bishop Gillan, who, in the letter from which quotations have been made, praised Smith for his prolonged labours in the cause of peace, and also took the opportunity of saying some unkind things of Campbell: "We are sufficiently acquainted with Mr C.'s character and it is happy for us that his circumstances oblige him to live at so great a distance from us." The Scottish Agreement cannot really be regarded as parallel with the concordate established in England. If it had been possible to agree to the use of either the English Office or the New Communion Office, as each congregation desired, the parallel would have been fairly complete. The unyielding refusal of the Non-Usagers to consent to any alterations, and the unmeasured condemnation passed by Laurence and his friends on all who did not practise as they did, prevented any such scheme of mutual toleration.

There was one clause in the Scottish Agreement which had particular reference to a development which was now to take place in the left wing of the English Non-Jurors. The resolution of the Scottish bishops to refrain from taking part in schismatical or foreign consecrations was immediately put to the test. It was a matter of general knowledge that Campbell was considering the question of consecrating one or more bishops in order to perpetuate a succession for the new Communion which had now practically been formed. A further quotation may be given from Bishop Gillan, who wrote to George Smith on the 7th August 1733:

Your friend was not misinformed when he acquainted you that Mr Campbell had importuned Bishop Rattray to concur with

your adversaries and for that end even to make a journey to London. The day before your last came to my hand Bishop Rattray read to me a letter of Mr C.'s to that purpose, wherein he also told him that he was importuned to consecrate Laurence but that he excused himself from satisfying them without the consent of his brethren in Scotland. Bishop Rattray refused and will tell him that he ought to consent to the Union arranged by five bishops....no doubt he will also represent how rash and unaccountable a thing it will be for him to consecrate alone, though there are not wanting some instances of it in antiquity¹.

Some additional information of considerable importance on this subject is available from the Papers in the Episcopal Chest. There are three letters, all of which indicate that considerable pressure was placed upon Campbell to take action.

The first is a letter written from London on the 10th April 1733 by John Clark and John Pierce and addressed to Thomas Rattray of Craighall, Esq., and consigned to the care of Dr Clark, physician at Edinburgh. The writers point out the unhappy state of affairs caused by the defection of their clergy from the necessary points. There is only one bishop left with whom they are in communion:

We, therefore, with our brother Thomas Deacon and above 60 of the laity did lately join in and subscribe a petition to our Rt Rev. Father A. Campbell, which we this day presented to him, wherein we unanimously recommended and made choice of our worthy brother, the Rev. Mr Laurence to be consecrated a bishop and humbly besought our Rt Rev. Father to consecrate him accordingly. To this petition, he has given no positive answer and seemed unwilling to comply without consulting his colleagues in the North.

Rattray is implored to obtain the consent of his colleagues. The occasion is urgent and justifies a single consecration, of which examples are not wanting. It is requested that a reply may be made to either of the signatories at Simmond's Inn Coffee House, Chancery Lane, London².

The second letter was written by Thomas Deacon to the same bishop, and is dated 20th April 1733. Deacon assumes that the petition was presented six months since, which does not seem to agree with the statement made in the previous letter. "Mr Campbell is extremely fearful of going against the Ancient Canons in

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 223.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1197.

consecrating by a single hand though we flatter ourselves that the difficulty would be removed if you would be pleased to use your interest with him." The letter concludes with an urgent request that Rattray should encourage Campbell to consecrate Laurence. Deacon would have written to Bishop Gadderar if he had known that he was alive. He mentions his previous intimate acquaintance with that bishop¹.

The third and the most important of these papers is a letter addressed by Campbell himself to Rattray on the 10th April 1733. Reference is made to a petition of three presbyters, twenty-four laymen and forty women who nominated a presbyter for consecration. "Your friend" being in full communion with the bishops in Scotland naturally desires to consult them. He is aware that Rattray was opposed to this scheme, being influenced by Bishop Smith's books, but thinks that by this time he may now consider better of it. On the back of this paper is given what is probably a copy of Rattray's answer. It bears the date of the 4th May 1733. Mention is made of the letters from Clark, Pierce and Deacon. Campbell's discretion in consulting the northern bishops is highly applauded. Rattray expects to be in Edinburgh during the summer and will lay the matter before the bishops with a view to healing the divisions. He strongly urges Campbell to stop the affair at present².

Bishop Rattray remained loyal to his agreement with his brethren, and refused to take any part with Campbell in the proposed consecrations. Thomas Brett was informed about a proposed visit of Rattray to England, and appears to have been greatly disturbed by the prospect. In a letter written to George Smith on 13th August 1733, Brett seems to have conceived the idea that Rattray, Campbell and Blackburne might make a kind of unholy alliance and agree to consecrate Laurence and Deacon for the one side and Creyk and Lindsay for the other. George Smith pointed out to his friend the improbability of such a development as this, which would certainly appear on the face of it entirely incredible.

Campbell, as is well known, was prevailed upon to act by himself, and Roger Laurence and Thomas Deacon were, as Rawlinson's brief record states, consecrated by Bishop Campbell at the same time and place. The affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy,

¹ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1198.

² *Ibid.* No. 300.

and there is singularly little additional information to be obtained. Three or four letters which bear upon the subject are worth recording. On the 28th February 1733/34 Thomas Wagstaffe wrote to Brett: "I have great reason to believe that Mr C. has taken upon him to do the affair for Mr L. and Dr D. by himself, which he could not prevail upon Dr Rattray to concur with him in¹." The next is an extraordinary letter from the Rev. John Clark, to Dr Richard Rawlinson, written on the 15th April 1734, and received by Rawlinson on the 22nd of that month. Clark had by some means obtained possession of the chapel in Dunstan's Court lately served by Thomas Wagstaffe, whose congregation entirely forsook him on the return to the use of the English Liturgy. The letter reads as follows:

About December last (December 15 as well as I can remember) you put me to the question whether we had not lately a consecration or consecrations. The suddenness of this question so far surprised and put me off my guard that I answered you *No*, but being recovered of that surprise and seriously reflecting upon your *No Right* to ask me the question and on *My Own Right* of refusing to give any determined answer, either negatively or affirmatively thereto, I do now assume and insist on my said right and in pursuance thereof do deliberately declare to you that my said answer was no other than the disorderly effect of my then surprise, that I therefore *null* that answer and pronounce it utterly void...that this meant to be no answer at all either negatively or affirmatively.

This "retraction" of Clark's answer was formally witnessed by James Linfield and Sam Levine. Rawlinson sent on "St George's Day," 1734, a copy of this letter to Brett with a few remarks of his own:

It seems a recantation of what the Rev. Mr Clark answered me on a sudden question and a dexterous method of confirming my suspicions which were well enough grounded before, as Dr Deacon upon a request to give some account of himself evaded it because of something not proper to be communicated, such as a clandestine consecration like his own and Mr Laurence by one bishop².

It will be seen that nothing is revealed as to the place and date of this consecration, and there is no record of Deacon's journey from Manchester. It may be regarded as probable that the con-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 277.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 21.

secrations took place at Campbell's house in Masham Street, Westminster, or possibly at the chapel in Dunstan's Court, and the date may be assumed to be in the autumn of 1733, or in any case, not later than November of that year. It has been stated that Campbell first consecrated Laurence, who then joined Campbell in consecrating Deacon. This is confirmed by a passage in a letter written to Jonathan Boucher by Bishop Cartwright, Deacon's son-in-law, on the 23rd April 1785, in which Cartwright distinctly states that Dr Deacon was consecrated by Bishops Campbell and Laurence¹. In the course of this letter, Cartwright gives the information that the original record of this consecration was then in his possession. It is one of the greatest disappointments experienced in the production of this book, that all efforts to trace the fate of this interesting document have proved futile.

There is here the beginning of the third party of the Non-Jurors, which remained in being for a longer period than either of the remaining sections. The story of this particular branch, which sprang through Campbell from the Scottish Episcopacy, has been told in some detail elsewhere, but a few additional facts will be given in a later chapter.

It is appropriate to give Laurence's defence of the validity of a consecration by a single bishop: "The Church has another extraordinary rule that a bishop may be consecrated by but one bishop when others cannot be had, and that such a consecration is valid and fully effectual to all intents and purposes whatsoever²."

Before proceeding to relate what is known of the fortunes of the main body of Brett, Rawlinson and Smith, there is here given a brief account of some of the difficulties which Brett experienced as a result of his return to the use of the English Communion Office. There are preserved in the Brett MSS. of the years 1732 and 1733 many letters from members of his flock, expressing great anxiety and alarm at the change of opinion and practice. It is clear that the New Office was much loved by the ordinary lay communicant. It must, of course, not be forgotten that reference is made to an extremely small body. The majority of these writers are entirely unknown, but they appear to write with sincerity. One of the aggrieved persons was John Bridger of Canterbury, to whom pre-

¹ Additional MSS. D. 30, f. 37 (Bodleian Library).

² Laurence's *Indispensable Obligation*, p. 115.

vious references have been made. His point of view was that "he could not see that he was wrong before and he hopes that he will be excused if he does not alter his practice¹." Brett eventually lost the whole of his congregations at Canterbury and Feversham, and henceforth confined his ministrations to his own household with the addition of a few neighbours. Another correspondent, to whom is due much information written from an original standpoint, was a certain Mrs Barbara Blackmore, a widow, who lived with "Mr Soulby, a druggist at the upper end of Holborn." It is not possible to identify this lady, but it is obvious that she belonged to a family with strongly Jacobite convictions. There is some light thrown on the lady's family in a letter written by Brett to Robert Gordon on the 8th September 1741, contained in Major Mott's collection. Brett states that he writes his letters to Mrs Blackmore "for the reason that being directed to Sir George Champion they cost me nothing and I thought her the properest person I could send to." Mrs Blackmore makes some obscure references to her brother, C. This is practically all the information that can be obtained concerning this lady, who in her religious standpoint, was much attracted by the views of Laurence and Deacon. One of Mrs Deacon's brothers was at this time an apprentice of Soulby, and by this means the lively Mrs Blackmore came into some connection with the new body which was ruled, so far as London was concerned, by Bishops Campbell and Laurence. Mrs Blackmore submitted, though not by any means without scruples, to Brett as her "lawful superior," and often in her letters asked and received his particular blessing. It is well that these letters are preserved. It must be confessed that the atmosphere of the Non-Jurors' movement is very clerical, and in the letters of this sprightly lady there is obtained an account of the condition of things from an entirely new and attractive point of view.

It is not proposed to offer a detailed criticism of the Union which has engaged the attention of readers of this present chapter. Re-union is very much "in the air" at the present day, and there is a certain advantage to be gained from the study of a process by which upon a very small scale a certain amount of re-union was effected. The result of the agreement which Brett and Smith accomplished after so many disappointments cannot have given

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 197.

complete satisfaction to either of them. Brett, indeed, was thoroughly depressed and disappointed. The re-union was in reality nothing more than a re-grouping, and the possibility of such a result should be borne in mind by all who lead or follow similar movements on a larger scale. It will have been observed that the methods by which this union was accomplished were anything but democratic. It was in the end the work of the bishops alone. The presbyters received little consideration and the laity none at all. The result was that when the laity came to know what had been arranged for them they were not unnaturally indignant and rebellious. The effect on those who had adhered to Brett has been described in the previous pages. The laity on the side of Gandy do not seem to have been informed of any of the proceedings, but as the only alteration with which they were confronted was the use of the chalice mixed in private, the effect on them was naturally less than on those who were forced to abandon an office which had won their esteem. It is perhaps no part of the duty of the historian to deduce "lessons" for the supposed benefit of his readers, but it may at any rate be concluded that re-union is not only, nor even principally, the concern of those who minister, but, on the contrary, it is a matter in which the people are vitally concerned, and any scheme which is not based on popular support may have surprising and unexpected results.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESULTS OF THE UNION

DEATH OF HENRY GANDY—DEPARTURE OF T. WAGSTAFFE FOR FRANCE—THE QUESTION OF THE “LANDLORD’S” CONSENT—CONSECRATION OF MAWMAN AND GORDON—DEATH OF THOMAS BRETT AND ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL—NON-JURORS AND METHODISTS

HENRY GANDY died at his house in Scroop’s Court on Tuesday, 26th February 1733/34 at the age of 84. He was buried in St Pancras Churchyard, where the last office was performed by Richard Rawlinson, according to a request made by Gandy before his decease. The pall-bearers were “Mr Harbin, Mr Carte, Mr T. Wagstaffe, Mr Hall, Mr Gordon and Mr Earberry¹.”

The removal of one who had deservedly been regarded as a venerable figure was a matter of serious importance to the newly united body. Gandy’s position as Primus was secure so long as he lived. Thomas Brett had been prepared to tender his allegiance to him and to regard a wish expressed from that quarter as equivalent to a command. The negotiations of 1716 and 1717, if they may be so described, which led to the separation of a man of the type and convictions of Henry Gandy from Collier and Brett, were a striking example of the manner in which ecclesiastical business ought not to be conducted. Interesting information as to Gandy’s ecclesiastical standpoint is found in some notes from his pen which are preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. D. 847, which are lettered “Papers of Henry Gandy.” These are further indicated by a brown paper slip in Rawlinson’s hand, “Papers in Gandy’s handwriting.” A short dissertation made by Gandy on the question of Ornaments in Divine Service is worthy of notice:

Such ornaments as were then in use (*i.e.* in the second year of Edward VI) were not a surplice and hood as we now use, but a plain white alb, with a vestment or cope over it. And so according to this rubric we are still bound to wear Albs and Vestments as

¹ Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 277; vol. x, f. 7, and vol. xiii, f. 93. The following notes from Thomas Hearne will be read with interest. See *Remarks, etc.*, vol. xi, p. 424, 13th February 1734/35. “Mr G. was buried in St Pancras Churchyard...It was done rather here as the Curate was well-known to some of the Non-Jurors and it was feared that the Rector of St Andrew’s Parish in which he died would not have permitted him to be buried according to his own desire.” See also *Remarks, etc.*, vol. xi, p. 322. H. to Rawlinson, 3rd April 1734. “Mr West said, you officiated at Mr G.’s funeral in *Pontificalibus*.”

have been worn a long time in the Church of God; however now of late neglected. For the disuse of these ornaments we can attribute it to no other cause than to them that came from Geneva and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign suffered every negligent priest to do what him listed, so he would but profess a difference and an opposition in all things (though never so lawful otherwise) against the Church of Rome and the ceremonies therein used. If any man shall answer that now the 58th Canon hath appointed it otherwise, and that these things are alterable by the sanction of the Church wherein we live, I answer that such matters are to be altered by the same authority wherewith they were established, and that is the Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy.

Gandy held that the 14th Canon ordered the observance of all the ceremonies described in the book of 1549. "I would fain know how we should observe both Canons."

There are other fragments of personal information of Gandy, which serve to make perfectly clear the point that, although Gandy was by force of circumstances ranged on the opposite side to Thomas Brett, there was little real or essential difference between the two men who were both "sufferers in one common cause for conscience sake." It is pathetic to reflect that Brett and Gandy were in a state of forced separation for fifteen years, and that the period in which they were able to live in outward unity was something less than eighteen months.

Gandy's last Will is as follows:

In the Name of God, Amen.

I, HENRY GANDY, of the parish of St Andrew, Holborn in London, Clerk, do make my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. *Imprimis* I commend my Soul to God who gave it, hoping that He will receive it to His Mercy through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer. *Item* I bequeath my Body to the Ground from whence it was taken in hope of a joyful resurrection to Eternal Life to be decently interred without pomp or show. *Item* I give and bequeath to my dear daughter, Anne Gandy, the sum of Fifty Pounds of lawful money of England to be paid to her when she is of age. All the rest of my goods and chattels I give and bequeath to my dear wife whom I constitute and appoint *Executress* of this my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand seal the first day of March 1731/32.

Witnesses: RICHARD RAWLINSON, L.D.
ROBERT GORDOUN, Clerk¹.

¹ P. C. C. Reg. Ockham, f. 60 (1734).

The Will gives no new information, but is interesting as showing the close personal connection which existed between Gandy, Rawlinson and Gordon. It may be assumed that Gandy's papers passed, by the consent of the widow, into the possession of Dr Rawlinson.

The care of the congregation in Scroop's Court was, by mutual arrangement, assumed by Rawlinson and Gordon. The former gave some information on the matter in a letter to Dr Brett on the 19th April 1734, in the course of which he excused himself from regular attendance at Daily Matins and Evensong, and added a note about the general state of the congregation: "Our congregation rather increases than the contrary in Holborn. We had fifty communicants on Easter Day¹."

A further question of greater importance than the oversight of this congregation was raised with characteristic impetuosity by George Smith, who wrote to Thomas Brett on the 8th March 1733/34 as follows: "I have agreed with Dr R. to elect you Primus and have desired him, Mr Wagstaffe and Mr Gordon, to draw up a form for that purpose²." The story of the next few years will show that agreement with Dr Rawlinson on any subject whatever was not by any means a simple matter. Smith certainly found this to his cost, and his temper, which was not remarkably placid, was frequently tried by the Fabian tactics of his eccentric colleague at London House³. Rawlinson himself referred to this matter in a letter of 19th April which has already been quoted. "I have consulted with Mr Smith about the primacy and we have deferred action for the present." Nothing more is recorded of any attempt to fill the office of Primus.

The story of the main body of the Non-Jurors, to which it is proposed to devote the greater part of the present chapter, will be found to contain a certain amount of information which has hitherto been entirely unknown. Three main features mark out the course of events. In the first place there was the question of the preservation of the succession, concerning which serious anxiety was naturally felt and expressed. It will be seen that this question was rendered more difficult by the extraordinary attitude which was

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 7.

² *Ibid.* vol. ix, f. 279.

³ Rawlinson removed from Gray's Inn (at a date which is not exactly known but was probably about 1730) to London House, Aldersgate Street, formerly a residence of the Bishops of London.

adopted by Richard Rawlinson. In the second place there was the question of the relation of the body to the other sections of Non-Jurors; and, finally, there is to be taken into account the departure of Thomas Wagstaffe to France and Italy in order to assume, at the court of the titular James III, the position of Church of England Chaplain, which gave some new lease of life to what may be styled the purely political side of the movement.

The bishop who took the most active part in urging the necessity for new consecrations was George Smith, who constantly pressed this matter upon his colleagues. It will be necessary to quote from many of Smith's letters on this subject. On the 5th April 1734 he wrote to Brett expressing the opinion that "Dr Rawlinson is not as active as could be desired and needs stirring up now and again." Subsequent events proved that this was a very mild description of Rawlinson's attitude of hesitation upon this and other subjects. Smith certainly did his best to "stir up" the doughty doctor in the course of the next few years, but with singularly little effect. Smith suggested to Brett that two persons should be "pitched upon," and he intended to come up to town in the course of the ensuing summer for the purpose of joining in the proposed consecrations. The matter appeared to him very urgent, "considering that we may soon lose Mr Brett." The names suggested were Joseph Hall and Thomas Carte. It appears probable that Smith had written to Rawlinson to the same effect, but received a reply advising that there should be some delay before proceeding further in such an important matter. This policy appeared very dangerous to Smith, and likely to play into the hands of John Blackburne "who is very obstinate and will make use of our mistakes¹."

The date of Wagstaffe's departure from England, which has not been known with any degree of accuracy, was, as appears from information contained in the Brett MSS., the spring of 1734. It was a serious thing for the little community to lose the services of a man of high character and ripe scholarship, such as Wagstaffe undoubtedly was. For some time previously, however, Wagstaffe had not taken any active part in the movement. His congregation had entirely disappeared, and he had expressed himself as being "very fatigued" with the business of the Concordate. Suggestion had been made that Wagstaffe should be invited to take over the

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 25. Smith to Brett, 3rd May 1734.

care of the congregation in Scroop's Court, but he had refused, with some vehemence, to consider the proposal. He was never entirely comfortable about the Union, and went so far, in a moment of irritation, as to say that the other side had "tricked" them into it. Some details are available of his journey to France, but it was obviously a subject which could not be referred to in any public manner, and it might not have been safe to commit any details to writing. On March 30th, O.S. (April 10th, N.S.), 1734, Brett wrote to his son, Nicholas, at Angers:

I met Mr W. at Canterbury on his way to France...he made but a short stay in Paris and is gone a great way further...you may tell Mr Bedford I am glad Mr W. has gone. It will be a great mortification to Mr Blackburne and Mr Creyk and perhaps may bring them to a better temper...he is to supply the place of Mr Williams who died in France¹.

George Smith's comment on the matter is contained in a letter of the 5th April 1734, in which he thinks "that Mr W. has gone where he may be serviceable²," and Rawlinson, in the course of a letter, from which quotations have already been made, states that "Mr W. informs me from Paris that with Mr John Bedford he set out for Lyons on the 30th March. O.S." Wagstaffe's movements were in the nature of things not very accurately known to his English friends. A letter, addressed on the 4th September 1734 by Dr Clinch to Thomas Brett, states that "Brother Wagstaffe went into Italy in the Spring and I don't hear that he is yet returned³." As a matter of fact, Wagstaffe never returned to his native country, but many of his letters to his old friends are preserved and will receive notice in due course. Communications to him in France were to be addressed to "Mr Thomas Williamson, Paris." The choice of Wagstaffe to be chaplain to the "Landlord" naturally delighted Brett and Smith, but it caused some anxiety and disappointment to the presbyters who held with John Blackburne.

The question of relations with the other Non-Jurors may be illustrated by means of some curious information obtained in connection with a number of legacies, which were devised by well-to-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIII, f. 93. See Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. XI, p. 68, 9th June 1732, referring to one Williams who reads prayers to the Chevalier in Rome, he being a Non-Juror.

² *Ibid.* vol. X, f. 1.

³ *Ibid.* f. 62.

do sympathizers of the movement for the benefit of the suffering clergy. Three or four of these appear to have become payable about this time. A certain Mrs Tabitha Marshall left £100 which was forwarded to Rawlinson by Thomas Bowdler and was to be administered by Brett, Rawlinson, Smith and Gordon (excluding *totidem verbis* Mr Blackburne). The connection which Bowdler had with the business is not clear, but the original idea was that the benefits should be enjoyed only by those who had signed the agreement. Brett, however, made a strong appeal on behalf of Richard Russell and John Lindsay, and Rawlinson willingly agreed to include the names of these two refractory presbyters, who certainly had no reason to expect kindness from the hands of Thomas Brett. Rawlinson wrote to Brett on the conclusion of the matter, stating that "Mr Bl(ackburne) and Mr Cr(eyk) have not received...the former is sorry too late." Incidents of this kind did not, as human nature is constituted, tend to diminish the hostility which was expressed by Blackburne and Creyk against the newly united Church¹. Further, there was a legacy from the estate of a Mrs Pyncourt, of whom nothing is known beyond what is contained in a brief notice inserted at the end of Rawlinson's MS. of Ordinations: "1730/31 March 3, died Mrs Pyncourt at Lethouse, Leicestershire, of an ancient family in Devonshire...very charitable." The distribution of this money seems to have fallen into the hands of John Creyk. Reference was made to this matter in a letter from George Smith to Thomas Brett dated 18th September 1733: "A Mr McMorran, an intimate acquaintance of J. Creyk's, has come down and is distributing Mrs Pyncourt's legacy. Mr Rowe and Mr Fothergill are to have some and a fair share is to go to the Scotch Clergy." Smith seems to distrust this man². Once again, there is an obscure reference to a "charity" of a Mr Tomkyns, which is obtained from a letter written by Timothy Mawman to Richard Rawlinson on the 17th May 1733. The letter immediately followed Rawlinson's record of the death of Mrs Pyncourt.

So little is known of Mawman that it is thought well to quote this letter in full. It contains personal references of an interesting character.

¹ For these details see Brett MSS., vol. ix, ff. 199 and 205, and vol. xix, f. 188.

² Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 241.

TIMOTHY MAWMAN to RICHARD RAWLINSON, 17th May 1733

I have been advised by your worthy colleague, Mr Smith, of £11 now in your hands for my use, being part of Mr Tomkyn's charity. I have by his direction drawn on you for the same sum by a Bill dated the 15th instant and payable at 3 days sight to Messrs Watson & Sutton or order. I shall ever be mindful of so great a favour. And as I hope you will please to accept of my just acknowledgement for the share you have had in it so I must beg you'd recommend me and my best wishes to Mr Tomkyn himself who I presume is now in town....I have lately had your queries about the suffering clergy since 1688 and believe I shall be able to furnish something with regard to two gentlemen that were my wife's uncles, viz.: Mr Jonathan Davison, B.D., Vicar of Aldworth in the Diocese of Sarum, who was her father's brother; and Mr John Naylor, B.D., who was then Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge, her uncle by the mother's side. Mr Davidson had been Fellow likewise of that college and had removed thence to his living in 1687; so that if you will have occasion to make enquiry about several other members of this Society, I must refer you thither for an account of those two gentlemen during their abode in that College and shall communicate whatever I know of the matter to my honoured and worthy friend Mr Smith. I should not have presumed to give you this trouble but that duty and gratitude constrained me to hope in your great goodness and condescension you'll pardon, Rt Rev. Sir, Your most dutiful son etc.

A later legacy from the estate of a Dr Hanbury was mentioned by Richard Rawlinson in a letter dated the 15th March 1734/35. The amount of £100 was left for the benefit of the clergy at the disposal of Bishop Blackburne and Mr John Creyk¹. Finally, there was a legacy or charity from a Mr Port, which seems to have been entirely under the control of Richard Rawlinson. This fact gave Rawlinson a fine opportunity to lay down "conditions," an exercise which was always very congenial to him. In this particular case the condition was that no one could be recognized as a clergyman of the Church of England unless he had signed the Articles. According to information given by Thomas Wagstaffe, Rawlinson took the opportunity of writing to several clergy who had not previously made this subscription. Among these was Bishop George Smith, whose original subscription is dated 26th December 1733. It is not easy to understand why Smith should have yielded

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 185. Rawlinson to Brett, 15th March 1734/35.

to Rawlinson's pressure at this particular time. It is, of course, out of the question to suppose that he desired to receive any share in the charity. Brett expressed regret that Smith had signed at the command of Rawlinson, and the incident, which is unimportant in itself, may be taken as a sign that Rawlinson was preparing to go his own way¹. The position which Rawlinson assumed as to subscription to the Articles effectually debarred Laurence and his associates from any share in the benefits of Mr Port's charity. Thomas Deacon was especially named as being ineligible, but Deacon was at a distance which might be regarded as sufficiently safe, whereas Laurence, always a most dangerous enemy, was very much on the spot. A letter from Laurence to Smith dated the 31st October 1734 contained a strong protest against Dr R. R. and others refusing to grant a share of legacies to those who would not sign the Articles and also a thinly veiled threat of legal proceedings. Laurence's signature to this letter was preceded by the episcopal cross². Smith appears to have been alarmed at the threat, and advised that it should be taken seriously. He thought that Laurence and Clark must be kept quiet at all costs. The conclusion of the matter is not known, but it is probable that a compromise was arranged. Rawlinson was evidently in a state of genuine alarm as to what Laurence might make known, but in view of the frank revelations which had been made in the *Indispensable Obligation*, it is difficult to believe that there remained any secrets to be exposed to the light of day. Laurence at this late period of his life fought like a man who had nothing to lose, and who was not at all concerned to conceal his recently acquired episcopal character.

A curious question arose in the summer of the year 1734, in which two sections of the Non-Jurors came to be implicated. There had appeared in London a man of the name of Dare who claimed to have received deacons' orders from Bishop Welton. He had actually performed clerical functions and had been sternly rebuked by Bishop Blackburne. Dare replied to the effect that he

¹ See Brett MSS., vol. ix, f. 265, Wagstaffe to Brett, 26th January 1733/34, and vol. xix, f. 211, Brett to Smith, 14th March 1733/34. Brett's views on the Articles are well expressed in a letter to the Vicar of Ashford (no date). "The Church of England has established no Articles of Faith but those contained in the Three Creeds. The Articles are as touching religion but never established as Articles of Faith." See Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 123.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 115.

was being judged beforehand, but promised to submit if summoned lawfully. A copy of this letter was sent to Rawlinson who was afterwards approached by Dare in person. Rawlinson referred to the matter as follows: "One Dare who pretends clandestine mission from Dr Welton, who if he received any himself it was as secretly from Dr T."¹ Brett recommended that Welton's deacon should not be "owned." It may perhaps interest the general reader to know that William Law was concerned in the matter. Dare had apparently given Law's name as a reference. There is subjoined a letter of Law bearing on this subject, portions of which are not entirely intelligible.

WILLIAM LAW to DR RAWLINSON, 11th October 1734

The contents of yours surprised me very much. My acquaintance with Mr Dare was very slight. I don't know that I saw him more than once all the while he was last in England, and that only for an hour at the Tavern in other company, where I left him. I never wrote to him in all my life or he to me. I don't know if he ever spoke to me or I to him so much as one word on ecclesiastical matters of any kind or in any manner. I declare to you solemnly on the faith of a Christian, in the presence of God and His Holy Angels, that Mr D. never had any authority leave or consent from me directly or indirectly to ask abroad anything of an ecclesiastical nature, or of any other kind in my name, or for me, or for any other person or persons. I declare to you further that I never with Mr Bl(ackburne), or any other person, had any conference or connivance about getting such a negative (?) or any ecclesiastical power at all from abroad. Had anyone ever proposed or had hinted such a thing to me, I should have thought both his head and his heart to be greatly out of order. I declare further that I never did agree with any person to have my name mentioned to any person abroad on that or any other account whatever. What all this means I can't tell. I can only say that I have contributed no more to it than to the powder plot².

This letter may speak for itself. There is probably more in it than strikes the eye, and it apparently refers to other matters than the validity of Dare's orders. Nothing more is heard of this obscure deacon of Bishop Welton. The incident confirms the belief that the main body of Non-Jurors declined to recognize the regularity of Welton's consecration and mission.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 215. Rawlinson to Brett, 6th June 1735. See also vol. x, f. 67, and vol. xix, f. 214.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 109.

The development of Thomas Brett's opinions in the direction of a return to the use of the English Liturgy was noted with delight by some of his old friends in the Church. A letter, written by Charles Wheatly on 3rd July 1734, from Furneux Pelham, Hertfordshire, probably expresses an opinion and anticipation which was shared by many of Brett's college friends and contemporaries:

I must congratulate you, I hear, upon taking your steps back again towards your old Communion. I should heartily rejoice to hear you are quite got home, since you are now got back again so far. Will not Dr Bennett bring you through? But what am I to say now to your Dissertation on Liturgies¹?

In a further passage in this letter Wheatly refers to a new work which was causing a considerable stir among all sections of Non-Jurors and Church people in general. "Who is the author of the New Devotions? Laurence would not own it...I suspect him (the author) to be at least inclinable to Arianism." It will be seen that this work was Deacon's *Compleat Devotions*, and it was not long before the true authorship was generally recognized. George Smith had obtained a copy of the work in July 1734, and wrote to express his opinion that the author was Mr Deacon. The book has received sufficient attention at the hands of previous writers², but it may be pointed out that its publication became the cause of a renewal of the correspondence between Brett and Campbell which had been discontinued for some months past. Brett seems to have obtained a copy of the book from one of his old flock at Canterbury, John Bridger, who wrote to his late bishop on the 29th July 1734, stating that Mr Laurence had sent some books to be distributed to our friends. Bridger sent two to Spring Grove, one to Dr Brett and one for his brother³. The letter with which Brett reopened his correspondence with Campbell is dated 20th January 1734/35. He assured his old friend that he never intended to break with him and would not have broken with Laurence but for his "malicious temper." He expressed the opinion that the *Devotions* might be the work of Campbell himself. The Essay in the Supplement

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 43.

² A complete summary of this work appeared in the *Royalist*, April 1898, from the pen of Henry Jenner, F.S.A.

³ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 55. Bridger of Canterbury to Dr Brett, 29th July 1734.

delighted him exceedingly. He was so pleased with it that he had caused his son Nicholas to translate it into Latin¹.

The story of this Essay is remarkable. It appears in the *Devotions* as a Supplement under the title of "An Essay to procure Catholic Communion upon Catholic Principles," and receives the following introduction from the hands of the author:

Whilst the foregoing appendix was printing I accidentally met with the following Essay in Manuscript; and as it expresses my own sentiments as exactly as if I had been the author of it; and as the foregoing Collection of Devotions is founded entirely upon the scheme mentioned therein, which is not only the best calculated for, but indeed the only one capable of procuring a Restoration of Catholic Communion; I cannot but take this opportunity of laying it before the reader, at the same time heartily wishing and praying that all Churches and Christians would use their utmost endeavours to put it in practice.

The reply which Campbell sent to his old friend shows what had really happened:

Now I don't wonder that you should approve of the Supplement for it is your own. It was found among Mr Collier's papers after his death and as I am credibly informed in your hand and sent by you to him many years ago².

Campbell carries the matter a little further in a later letter:

If I am rightly informed the MS. which is printed at the end of the Book of Devotions is all written in your own hand and was kept by Mrs Collier till her death and then fell into the hands which helped the publisher to it...you have an undoubted right to re-publish it with what additions and amendments you think fit, without being a plagiarist³.

The story is tolerably intelligible. The paper, which was originally written for Brett to be forwarded to Bishop Atterbury as related on p. 101, was returned to Collier and remained in the possession of Mrs Collier until her death which appears to have taken place in the early part of the year 1734. The care of her papers naturally devolved upon her son, Thomas Deacon, who published the Essay without any reference to the original author. The Essay was written at a time when Brett was at the height of his opinions as an

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 115.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 127. Campbell to Brett, 25th January 1734/35.

³ *Ibid.* f. 167. Campbell to Brett, 22nd February 1734/35.

Essentialist. The scheme for procuring Catholic Communion was to build on the Golden Rule of Saint Vincentius, *i.e.* on Universality, Antiquity and unanimous Consent. The language does not greatly differ from that of Deacon's title-page and preface, in which he humbly offers the work to the consideration of the present Churches of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English and all others. Apart, however, from the consideration whether Brett would, after his recent development of thought, feel able to defend what he had previously written, it must be admitted it was a serious breach of good manners to publish a MS. of an author still living and without any attempt to secure his consent. It was so regarded by people of that day who were not unfavourably inclined to the author of the *Devotions*. A letter, written from Angers on the 8th April 1736 to Thomas Brett by John Cotton, is here quoted:

I am very sorry to see my friend Deacon's warm head makes him take such imprudent steps. I dare say he wishes Union but he takes the surest steps to prevent it by going off further than he himself can think necessary from the Church he has left...his printing an Essay which he knew to be yours without your leave is highly unjustifiable¹.

The principal feature of Deacon's work is the "Holy Liturgy" which is, of course, the Clementine Liturgy from the Apostolic Constitutions. The book may therefore be said to stand or fall by the amount of authority which may be attributed to the Constitutions, and on this point a letter written by Thomas Wagstaffe in Paris to Dr Brett on the 24th May 1735 may be read with interest:

As to his recommending it to the Greek Roman and English Churches, I believe neither (*sic*) of them will easily be persuaded to take the Apostolic Constitutions for their model. It is true that learned men have thought the *ἀναφορά* or *Canon Missae* in the Constitutions to be the most ancient form of the Eucharistical service now extant, but there are too evident proofs of a more modern hand in the other part of the collection, not but that it contains some very excellent prayers, written in that noble and sublime manner which is so peculiar to the Eastern Christians, but for that very reason the more to be suspected; because I am well persuaded that in the Apostolic age and for some time after, their devotions were written with much more simplicity and in a less ornamental style than we meet with even in the Liturgies themselves and that too in the most solemn part of them, the Canon².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 357.

² *Ibid.* f. 211.

This estimate of the Constitutions may be justly regarded as strikingly modern, and stands in contrast with the more exaggerated value which was attached to the same work by Wagstaffe and his fellow Essentialists at the time of the Usages controversy in 1716.

One feature in the *Devotions* was likely enough to excite remark. It is well known that the Clementine Liturgy contains expressions which might easily be interpreted in an Arian sense, and Thomas Deacon was too punctilious to water down such phrases by means of an accommodating translation. *E.g.* in the Great Thanksgiving of the Liturgy the phrase is used "the first born of the whole creation," and in a curious prayer for Catechumens there occurs the singular expression "the God of the Comforter." Thomas Brett called the attention of Campbell to these tendencies to Arianism, and some letters passed between the two friends on the subject. Campbell thought that the first of these phrases might be justified by Rev. iii. 14: ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως, but frankly declined to defend the expression "God of the Comforter." He suggested that Brett might "get some one else to write his objections and forward them and I would send or despatch them to the author¹." There was, however, little disposition to accuse Deacon of Arianism, and Campbell's statement that "Mr Deacon certainly has no tendency that way" was generally accepted².

An opportunity is afforded in this place for the present writer to correct a mistake made by him as to the actual date of the use of the Clementine Liturgy³. It was assumed that the New Communion Office of 1718 was abandoned at the time of the publication of the *Compleat Devotions*, but this was certainly not the case. There is deposited in the Reference Library of the City of Manchester an original document bearing Deacon's episcopal seal. It reads as follows:

✠ We, Thomas Deacon, by Divine Providence, a Bishop of the Catholic Church in England, do by virtue of Our Episcopal authority ordain and establish This Book (hereafter following in one volume) to be Our Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; hereby strictly charging and commanding all the Clergy and People who are or shall be under our jurisdiction to

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 127. Campbell to Brett, 25th January 1734/35.

² *Ibid.* f. 167. Campbell to Brett, 22nd February 1734/35.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 46.

follow the directions therein contained. Given under Our Hand and Episcopal Seal this eighth day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight and in the fifteenth year of our Consecration.

(Signed) THOS. DEACON, Bishop.

A letter from Thomas Wagstaffe to Mrs Blackmore, dated the 26th November 1748, undoubtedly refers to this same injunction. Wagstaffe mentioned the abandonment of the previous Office, and an "extraordinary injunction of Dr D's¹." It may be concluded that from 1748 onwards the Clementine Liturgy was used in London so long as there remained any adherents of the Orthodox British Church (which was the title now beginning to be assumed) and in Manchester until the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the period 1733 to 1748 it is a probable inference that the New Communion Office of 1718 was regarded as the authoritative form for the celebration of the Eucharist by those who communicated with Thomas Deacon.

On the 6th March 1735/36 there took place the death of Roger Laurence at the house of the Lethieulliers in Beckenham. Laurence had reached his 67th year and had been in failing health for some time. He had an attack of paralysis a few days before his death, and it is probable that he had been incapable of conducting any business for a considerable period. Serious family troubles had contributed to his illness². He was buried in Beckenham Parish Churchyard, but his grave cannot now be identified. What has been said of Laurence in the present book and by previous writers will sufficiently explain the character of this strange and unrestrained controversialist. It should be borne in mind that he is not known except from this particular point of view and he certainly appears as a formidable adversary. Some information will be given in a later chapter of curious attempts made by Laurence in the way of development of ceremonial, but it may be permitted to express an opinion that beneath Laurence's violent expressions of hostility to his opponents there was a foundation of genuine kindness of heart. Shortly after Laurence's decease, Dr Rawlinson, impelled by his insatiable desire for accumulating relics of any kind, went down to see Mrs Laurence, whose former married name had been Holman, which she had continued to use for political and prudential

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 335.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 363. Campbell to Brett, 10th April 1736.

reasons. Upon Rawlinson presenting himself a violent scene took place, the details of which are supplied by Archibald Campbell¹. The widow had not forgotten the lampoon concerning the supposed death of her husband which had been published some years earlier and had always been attributed to Rawlinson. Her language and demeanour appear to have been threatening, and "Doctor Dick" (as Campbell loved to call Rawlinson) was probably glad to get away. Rawlinson had, however, made one discovery, as appears from a letter written to Brett on the 3rd April 1736:

I have seen impressions of two episcopal seals, as I take them to be, the one a cross surrounded by ἐν τούτῳ νίκα; the other a crosier upright with the words "Feed my Lambs"; the first I believe for Dr Roger and the latter for the Manchester doctor².

Rawlinson was doubtless correct in his supposition. The description of the second seal corresponds accurately enough with that which is impressed on the two episcopal documents of Deacon which have survived, viz. the ordination of Thomas Podmore in 1748³ and the authorization of the Devotions which has been quoted in the present chapter.

The publication in 1735 of Bishop Hoadly's *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper* made a considerable stir in ecclesiastical circles. The book produced many protests, both from the side of the Church and of the Non-Jurors. Hoadly's name did not appear on the title-page, but there never was any doubt that he was the author. Brett's old friend, Dr R. Warren, wrote to say that he was preparing to answer the Bishop of Winchester⁴. Charles Wheatly's name is also associated with those who proposed to make some protest⁵. The answer of William Law is,

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 363. Campbell to Brett, 10th April 1736.

² *Ibid.* f. 347. Rawlinson appears to have secured the possession of Laurence's altar furniture. See College Papers, No. 486, f. 1, Correspondence of Brett and Campbell, 22nd March 1735/36, in which Brett describes the Altar as "too small for a parish Church and private Chapels are not now used." See further, Appendix II, p. 332, n. 1.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 157.

⁴ Samuel Warren, Vicar of Ashford, had three sons, all of whom were doctors. In a letter to Campbell, Brett describes Dr R. Warren as the "brightest" of the three. See College Papers, No. 478, Correspondence of Brett and Campbell.

⁵ See College Papers, No. 483, Correspondence of Brett and Campbell. "Wheatly with Waterland's connivance is writing a criticism."

of course, known to a very wide circle of admirers, and is still regarded as a classic on this particular subject. No one was more obnoxious to the Non-Jurors than Hoadly, and it was not to be expected that Brett would let the opportunity pass without making a personal attack on Hoadly's rationalistic conception of the Sacrament. His Answer to the *Plain Account* was published at the end of 1735. Campbell wrote in the Christmas season of that year to thank Brett for his Answer, but made a mild protest against the use of the word "virtual" to describe the Presence in the Sacrament. Campbell's contention was that this was merely another method of expressing the *Modus* and was as objectionable as the explanation attempted by the use of the word Transubstantiation. He also contended that in making this objection he was following in the footsteps of Bishop Collier who declined to use the word "virtual." Brett had, however, to face a much more serious criticism from his friends of the newly united communion. He had inserted in his Answer some defence of the mixture of the chalice. Bettenham, the printer, had, however, deleted this passage, probably at the instance of Rawlinson and Gordon. One of the disadvantages of Brett's distance from town was that he had to rely on others to see his works through the press. This duty had been performed by Peck, Deacon and Wagstaffe, and now, it would appear, by Robert Gordon. Brett was indignant at this treatment, but so far as can be judged he was compelled to submit. Rawlinson wrote on the 24th January 1735/36 to express his regret that Brett was so bent on "printing the mixture." He regarded it as an infringement of the Concordate, "as you argue so warmly for the necessity of what we hold indifferent and have only complied with for peace sake¹." George Smith supported the action of his colleagues in this matter. On the 10th February 1735/36, he wrote to express regret for the quarrel which had taken place with Gordon concerning the mixture, but he made it clear that he himself was on the side of Rawlinson and Gordon, and evidently regarded Brett's action as not loyal to the agreement². It must have become clear by this time to Brett that his interpretation of the Concordate differed very much from that entertained by Rawlinson.

Much more serious difficulties arose as to the matter of the succession. There were from time to time rumours that Bishop

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 311.

² *Ibid.* f. 323.

Blackburne intended to consecrate *solus* a bishop who should assist him in the oversight of his own small group. George Smith, in the course of a letter written to Brett in August 1735, mentioned that Mr Earberry had told him that Blackburne designed very shortly to consecrate a bishop and to confer local jurisdiction upon him¹. It was stated at one time that Blackburne had actually consecrated John Creyk. This particular report seems to have originated from Nicholas Brett in Angers, but it was not believed on this side of the water and had no foundation in fact. Whatever intention Bishop Blackburne may have had, there is no reason to think that any consecration was actually effected.

So far as the main body was concerned, the difficulty in the way was the determination of Rawlinson to delay decision by every possible method. *E.g.* Rawlinson wrote to Brett on 3rd April 1736, stating that he was sorry that Brett considered him obstinate about the "continuation," but he had not yet seen a suitable man². This sentiment was repeated in many varying forms, and it will be seen that in the end George Smith lost all patience with his dilatory colleague and took no pains to conceal the anger which he felt at such unreasonable excuses. The matter was eventually arranged without Rawlinson's concurrence or assistance, and it is probable that this was exactly what he desired.

The negotiations which led to the consecration of Timothy Mawman in July 1737 were very protracted. There was great difficulty in obtaining Mawman's consent, but on the 5th January 1735/36, Thomas Bedford wrote from Durham informing Brett that "Mr Mawman consents to what is desired of him to fill up the number³." The next step was to secure the consent of Rawlinson, but it became evident to all concerned that this could not be obtained. Smith thought that if another name were submitted in addition to that of Mawman, the Dr might agree to take the two together, but he was convinced that Mawman alone would never be accepted. The name suggested by Smith was that of Robert Gordon⁴. Rawlinson's answer to this piece of diplomacy is here quoted. It is probable that those who received it did not consider it very hopeful in tone.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 243.

³ *Ibid.* f. 309.

² *Ibid.* f. 347.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 355. Smith to Brett, 5th April 1736.

DR RAWLINSON to DR BRETT, 3rd May 1736

By a letter this post from Durham, it is clear to me that the draught must go down be it ever so unpalatable. I am therein told that the next post must bring my answer, as Mr M. and Mr S. will be with you soon. This coercion does not well agree with me, as I am not convinced that Mr M. will be pleased to think as at present always. What is bred in the bone etc., and *naturam expellas furca etc.* Against the other I need not object as I am persuaded we are not acting a farce in this affair but that the *Nolo* signifies something more with us than with the establishment. If this should be the case, I should go to Oxford sooner than I expected and in Worcester spend my summer. I see that all springs move from Kent, join Sussex to that and Durham and there is no occasion for London House. A previous subscription it seems is very proper in the opinion of some, though not in that of

R. R.¹

The meaning of the letter, apart from a few references which are barely intelligible, will be fairly clear. Brett, in his reply on the 14th May, did not attempt to evade the point:

As you now deal plainly with us and let us know that you renounce your subscription, and advise us to join Sussex to Kent and Durham that there may be no occasion for London House you cannot take it amiss if we follow your advice and leave you either to stand by yourself or submit yourself to your old friend Mr Blackburne².

Rawlinson's evident meaning was that Dr Brett, Thomas Brett of Sussex and George Smith could, if they desired, complete the affair without him. This was the actual course of events, but George Smith could not immediately make up his mind to act without his old colleague. The news of this latest obstacle brought across the water a warmly expressed letter from Thomas Wagstaffe, who wrote to Brett on 5th December (N.S.) 1736 stating that he was not surprised that R. R. could not be moved but there was really no excuse for Smith's hesitation. He must be told of the "tragic position." Wagstaffe expressed his belief that "our side has been tricked into the Union; if the matter drops some worthy persons who left the communion of R. Laurence will be staggered³." Smith came to the conclusion that nothing was to be gained by waiting, and his brother-in-law, Thomas Bedford, was able to

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 291.

² *Ibid.* f. 289.

³ *Ibid.* vol. X, f. 453.

communicate this decision to Thomas Brett in a letter dated 7th December 1736. It was headed "From my lodgings at Mr Burnop's in South Street, Durham." The letter continued as follows: "My brother has thoughts of following your advice next Summer and taking Sussex's assistance if R. R. continues obstinate when he and Mr M. come to town¹." Smith confirmed this decision in a personal letter to Brett written in the following spring. The difficulties were now at an end, and it only remained to discover the whereabouts of Thomas Brett of Sussex and to secure his attendance in town. The old gentleman had now reached the age of 87 and nothing had been heard of him for some time. On the 5th April 1737, Dr Brett wrote to Mrs Blackmore: "Does anyone know where Mr Brett of Sussex is? Could someone send to his grandson Pitt, haberdasher in Southwark²." The enquiries seem to have been successful, and on 6th May 1737, the following letter was despatched from

THOMAS BRETT of *Sussex* to DR BRETT of *Spring Grove*

Jevington, 6th May 1737.

Yesterday, I received your letter and am, blessed be God, in perfect health, so that I hope I shall be able to meet you in London as you desire. There I propose to be (*cum bono Deo*) at my grandson Pitt's on June 28th. But your time shall be mine for I am always at liberty. *Aet.* 87³.

There are some details recorded concerning the preparations on the part of the other two bishops. Mrs Blackmore wrote to Dr Brett on the 5th July:

This waits upon you only to let you know that the same lodging will be ready for you whenever you are pleased to come, which I suppose will be either this week or next. I doubt not that Mr Gordon has wrote you that Mr S. intends to be here the latter end of this week.

Mrs Blackmore followed the usual custom of her sex in reserving a tit-bit of news for a p.s.: "The affair will be a prodigious surprise on Dr R., who I find Mr Smith intends to attack before you come⁴."

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 457.

² *Ibid.* vol. xix, f. 125.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xi, f. 301.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 9. Mrs Blackmore frequently expressed surprise that Dr Rawlinson had ever taken "that sacred character" upon him, and in the course of a letter written to Dr Brett, 2nd October 1736, went so far as to say that Rawlinson and Tyreman (who appears as witness to several episcopal consecrations) were "pot companions." See Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 439.

This lively lady never missed an opportunity of making some reflection upon Rawlinson, who for some reason or other had aroused in her a hearty dislike. Robert Gordon wrote to Brett stating that "your namesake has been in town but has gone back. I have written to him to be back for the 15th or the 16th when Mr S. and Mr M. will certainly be here¹."

The consecration actually took place on the 17th July 1737. The consecrating bishops were, of course, the two Bretts and George Smith. The actual Instrument of consecration is preserved in the Episcopal Church Papers (No. 100). The place is described as follows: *In oratorio Reverendi Viri Roberti Gordoun presbytero in parochia Sancti Andreæ in Holbourne*. It would appear from this statement that the chapel referred to was Hicke's old oratory in Scroop's Court, but this is by no means certain. There is some uncertainty as to the fate of this famous centre of the Non-Jurors, but there is some evidence which points to the fact that the house and chapel which were occupied by Mrs Gandy after her husband's death were sold over her head. Information is given on this point in a letter from Campbell to Brett, dated the 13th March 1735/36: "I had almost forgot to tell you that Mr Blackburne has taken Mr Gandy's house over his widow's head to break his congregation. She must move by Lady-Day²." The new chapel in Theobald's Road, which was served for more than forty years by Robert Gordon, was opened in the earlier part of the year 1736. Mrs Blackmore referred to this matter in a letter to Dr Brett written on the 6th July of that year: "At the placing of the Altar at the new Chapel Mr Gordon strongly insisted on it being set Eastward... Dr R. was quite indifferent." Nothing is known of the building, which was in all probability adjacent to the house occupied by Robert Gordon. It is, of course, extremely unlikely that any new erection was made. The description of the place of consecration as being *in parochia Sancti Andreæ* would be appropriate both to the old and the new chapel, but the latter supposition is the more probable³.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XI, f. 13.

² *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 337.

³ See Brett MSS., vol. XIII, f. 127. Thomas Brett to his son, 11th March 1737/38. "Mr Gordon is removing to Great Kirby Street near Hatton Garden, where he will be near both to his Chapel and Mr Cotton. And Mr Cotton is so generous that I doubt not but he finds he shall there be made amends for what he loses by leaving the press."

The actual consecration was no doubt performed with all possible secrecy, but Archibald Campbell, as usual, got wind of the matter and made a characteristic comment on it in a letter to Dr Brett dated the 3rd September 1737: "I have heard of the affair and wish that the meeting had been for the purpose of reconciling matters, for we have already more generals than soldiers¹."

It may be noted that this visit to London was the last recorded on the part of Thomas Brett and also of his namesake of Sussex. Dr Brett reported that he had had a very fatiguing "voyage" to his home at Spring Grove, and it is clear that he never afterwards travelled many miles away from his own house.

It is probable that George Smith fulfilled his promise of informing Rawlinson of the matter, and in this event it is a reasonable supposition that some very plain language would be used. There is also a record of a visit which Bishop Smith made at this time to his former colleague Bishop Blackburne, from whose hand the following account is given:

This day the Rt Rev. G. S. called upon me by our agreement, being Friday, when he was to go out of London on Monday as he told me. I insisted on the odiousness of calling me names. He acknowledged the fact but wanted a general amnesty without any restitution. He pleaded that I was equally guilty in other matters. I demanded, wherein. He said I had agreed to the alterations. I said I had not, and showed him the Act of Uniformity which he was very unwilling to read; which both by word and writing was stated as the foundation of our reconciliation. He was very angry, talked of Justin Martyr. I told him Justin Martyr was not much above 30 years old and that he showed me formerly a testimony out of Origen to the contrary...he improved into his accustomed manner and said he would and did go. I told him at parting that he was ordained for the North and that he was looked on as an interloper when he intermeddled here. He said at the door he should do as he pleased. I added, I knew his pleasure had been the standard of his conduct for a long time².

Rawlinson's relations to his colleagues seem to have become much more cordial, now that the "affair" was over. Brett was disposed to think that R. R. regretted that he had not taken a hand in it, and even Mrs Blackmore admitted that "Dr R.'s behaviour is much altered for the better since the affair³." The improvement

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XI, p. 41.

³ Brett MSS., vol. XI, f. 31.

² College Papers, f. 6, p. 33.

in the mutual relations of Brett and Rawlinson was manifested in a very practical and pleasing fashion. It has been pointed out that in 1732 Thomas Bedford went out to Angers as chaplain to the Cotton family and that Nicholas Brett accompanied him as a companion and with a view of completing his education at the University of Angers. Bedford returned to England in the early part of the year 1736, and from a letter of Thomas Brett to Archibald Campbell, it appears that there had been some ill-feeling aroused in connection with the discharge of his duties¹. Further information relating to Nicholas Brett is contained in another letter of Brett to his old friend to the effect that Nicholas returned to England in 1734 and remained with his father for two years. Sir Robert Cotton had, however, taken a great liking to Nicholas, and, as he was then of age to take Holy Orders, desired that he might be sent out as his chaplain. It is to be presumed that Nicholas Brett received deacons' orders about this time, probably at the hands of his father. In 1737, John Cotton returned to England to settle in the country and brought Nicholas Brett with him for a short time, and afterwards sent him back to France to be chaplain to his father who remained abroad till 1742. There is very interesting information recorded concerning the ordination of Nicholas to the priesthood. On the 20th March 1736/37, George Smith, in the course of a letter to Dr Brett, remarked:

I saw a letter lately from your son to my brother (Bedford) wherein he expresses great pleasure and satisfaction in his present situation at which I very much rejoice. I presume you will soon desire Dr R.'s assistance for conferring another degree because it can be done in London more regularly as to our circumstances and perhaps it may help to bring our friend into better humour².

Rawlinson duly conferred priests' orders on Nicholas Brett. The date cannot be fixed exactly, but a cautiously expressed letter, written on the 8th September 1737 by Rawlinson, conveys the information of the ordination to Brett, together with a statement that Robert Gordon had previously examined the candidate³. Mrs Blackmore could not refrain from passing a criticism on what was certainly to be regarded as a kindly act on the part of Rawlinson. The lady was very much surprised to hear that the ordination took

¹ College Papers, No. 518. Correspondence of Brett to Campbell, 11th December 1736. Bedford proceeded to Durham, where he lived for some six years.

² Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 493.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xi, f. 57.

place on a Wednesday, "Some people strain at gnats and swallow camels¹." Dr Brett, however, highly appreciated the assistance of his intractable colleague. The following is an extract from a letter written about this time: "Dr R. sent me word that he would be very ready to do a kindness to my son, which I had desired of him and he was as good as his word and was likewise pleased to say many kind things of my son²." This is a rare example of Rawlinson's use of his episcopal office.

The principal characters in the story had now reached old age, but one or two events in connection with their own proper history remain to be related. They require to be prefaced by an account of one of the latest efforts made by the Non-Jurors to bring to bear their influence upon the world outside their own narrowing borders. In 1736 there was published Dr Waterland's famous *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity*. The interpretation which Brett placed upon this work was that Waterland contended that the whole Communion Office might properly be described as sacrificial, but deprecated any language which implied a material sacrifice of the elements of Bread and Wine. In Waterland Brett had a foeman worthy of his steel, and did not hesitate to hit hard. Charles Wheatly and other old friends were dismayed at what they described as Brett's ungenerous treatment of Waterland. Wheatly in particular endeavoured to persuade Brett that Waterland "really maintains the Sacrifice as we do; but expresses himself in a different manner³." Brett, however, declined to accept this view, and in a reply to Wheatly made his position clear. "I believe that the Bread and Wine being offered to God as the representative or memorial of Christ's Sacrifice are the proper sacrifice in the Eucharist and not that the service only is the sacrifice." Brett's formal reply to Waterland was made in a pamphlet entitled *Remarks of Dr Waterland's Review*, and was published in 1736⁴.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XI, f. 91.

² *Ibid.* vol. XVII, f. 130. There is uncertainty both as to the date and the recipient of this letter. Some of the documents in the later volumes are described as imperfect copies.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XI, f. 497. Wheatley to Brett, 31st October 1739.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. XIX, f. 351. In a letter to Campbell, 23rd August 1739 (see Correspondence in College Papers, No. 583), Brett writes: "Not 200 of my answer to Waterland nor half as many of the supplement have been sold...the names of Dr Hicckes, J. Collier and T. Brett will not sell."

Further estimate of Brett's position is obtained from letters written to Gordon and Campbell in the height of the controversy, and in another written to his son Nicholas at a time when the matter could be more calmly regarded. In a letter to Gordon, dated 18th March 1737/38, Brett gave a brief sketch of the history of belief in the Sacrifice which prevailed in the Church since the Revolution. After that event the Church leaders decided to come nearer to the foreign Protestants. Hence, when Bishop Hicke wrote on the Sacrifice, this was frowned upon as differing from the reformed teaching. Dr Hancock and others were preferred for attacking him. Dr Waterland was now employed by the Bishop of London to "water down" the doctrine¹. In a letter to Campbell written 11th April 1738, Brett contended that Dr Waterland's affection for Calvinism had previously been shown in recommending Dr Nicholl's *Appeal to the Reformed Abroad*.

Brett's later opinions were recorded in an even more outspoken form in a letter addressed to his son Nicholas:

I should wonder very much as well as you at Dr Waterland's Calvinistic notions did I not know that party zeal will cast a mist before the clearest eyes. The essentiality of Episcopacy to a Church, and of the Minister to Baptism, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice being urged by Dr Hicke against that scandalous book called the *Rights of the Christian Church* about 35 years ago were looked upon as a design to prepare the way for another revolution and were therefore zealously opposed by the then Archbishop and several other bishops, and those who espoused them were looked upon as of Dr H.'s principles in other respects, as well as these, and kept out of preferments, and these doctrines became a party cause. And Dr Waterland being not willing to put himself out of the way to preferment studied for colourable arguments to support Calvinistic opinions so long until he believed them himself².

Mrs Blackmore expressed the view of the "man (or woman) in the street" in the following words: "Dr Waterland is courting the rising sun³," but George Smith's comment is perhaps more worthy of note: "Dr Waterland has been reading the writings of the Ancients through Calvin's spectacles." Bishop Smith made a personal contribution to the controversy in his *Epistolary Dissertation to the*

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 336.

² *Ibid.* vol. XIII, f. 290. Dr Brett to his son, 10th May 1741.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XI, f. 427.

Clergy of Middlesex by a Divine of the University of Cambridge, wherein the doctrine of Saint Austin concerning the Christian Sacrifice is set in a true light; by way of a reply to Dr Waterland, etc., which won the approval of Charles Wheatly. The attitude which was adopted by Brett and Smith was calculated to draw together all sections of the Non-Jurors, and apparently it had some such effect. Campbell wrote to Brett stating that Dr Deacon and others had written to him heartily wishing that Dr Brett would go on with the controversy against Waterland¹. The whole incident is noteworthy as illustrating the fact that the influence of the Non-Jurors upon the general trend of thought in the Church was not yet entirely exhausted².

There were now unmistakable signs of the rise of a new religious movement, the importance of which was not perceived by any of the Non-Jurors. John Wesley's relations with the Non-Jurors, and particularly with Thomas Deacon, at the time of the preparation of the *Compleat Devotions* are well known, and it is certain that Wesley had an accurate knowledge of the aims and ideals of Thomas Brett and George Smith. The knowledge which the Non-Jurors of this period had of the Methodist movement was, on the other hand, inadequate and incomplete, and most of the comments which are made from this point of view are amusing in the light of the later developments.

Mrs Blackmore's estimate is, as usual, given from the point of view of the rank and file:

We have of late a strange set of people got amongst us called Methodists. What is their aim I can't fathom. They make many weak, good souls go distracted. A friend of mine told me she heard Mr Wesley, which is one of their teachers, say that if those people were met with a design for mirth, they were damned. There is a family in Berkeley's Buildings, of considerable fortunes gone over to them. They won't converse with anyone but their own society. God only knows what they will end in. I think they seem to come something near to the Whicklifts (*sic*) and the

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xi, f. 479.

² A comment made after three-quarters of a century by one who was in general sympathy with the standpoint of the Non-Jurors is worth noting. See letter of Alexander Knox to John Jebb, 5th January 1819 (Correspondence of Jebb and Knox, vol. ii, f. 361). "The consecrated symbols are not merely (as Dr Waterland maintains) signs or pledges of a concomitant blessing; but (as the old Church taught and as Dr Brett argues against Waterland) the actual vehicles through which that blessing is conveyed."

Lollards; however they make very long prayers for our present happy establishment¹.

Archibald Campbell deals with the question from a more theological point of view:

As to Whitfield and his followers, I was willing to think the best of them that I could at their first setting up, but I can't think so well of him now, for they give in to spiritual pride and to a dangerous enthusiasm. They mistake Faith and have fixed but one single idea to the word which you will know has several different significations in Holy Writ....They have no notion of regeneration being a process but think to reach the top of the house *per saltum*, without ladder or stairs².

Rawlinson's comments indicate as usual a standpoint peculiar to himself:

These enclose also two papers relating to Mr Whitfield, the Corypheus of the Methodists. The complying clergy for the interest of the charity schools and to save themselves some study gave these gentlemen their pulpits, which they now denying, have driven them into the fields where they are attended (Whitfield only as yet, I mean) by sectaries of all sorts, neither Papists nor Quakers excepted³.

George Smith did not content himself with criticism of the Methodists, but attempted something in the nature of hostile propaganda. He wrote as follows to Dr Brett on the 19th August 1743:

We have been pestered here at Newcastle for seven or eight months with Mr Wesley and his associates who have gained abundance of proselytes to their sect insomuch that they have been able to build a large meeting (*sic*) by the contribution of the people, some giving a penny, others twopence, others more, as they are able a week for that purpose. They are almost all of the meaner sort who follow Mr W., and a great many of them are Presbyterians, Independents, and such like sectaries who are all so fond of their new Teacher that one Presbyterian meeting is quite deserted, and others of them very much thinned. In one or other of the Churches at Newcastle, the Sacrament is administered every Sunday. Mr W. carries those of his congregation who usually went to Church with him to receive the Sacrament.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xi, f. 445. Mrs Blackmore to Brett, 11th May 1739.

² *Ibid.* f. 459. Campbell to Brett, 7th June 1739.

³ *Ibid.* f. 449. Rawlinson to Brett, 17th May 1739.

Smith concludes his letter by stating that none of his people were affected, but he thought it well to address a letter to Mr W. and print it, and attack him on theological grounds¹. Robert Gordon wrote a few days later, forwarding a copy of Smith's pamphlet, which unfortunately does not seem to have been preserved.

Thomas Brett himself seems to have had little, if any, direct knowledge of the Methodists, and he was quite prepared to endorse the views of his colleagues, and went a little beyond most of the criticisms by venturing upon a prophecy: "These Methodists are marked with spiritual pride but like the French Prophets they will be followed for awhile and then they will dwindle away and we shall hear no more of them²."

The plain fact is that the Non-Jurors were incapable of understanding the Methodists. "Enthusiasm" was to them a forbidden thing, and this same constitutional objection may be noted in their latest descendants: *e.g.* in the *Memoir of John Bowdler* the writer lays stress on his father's caution against hasty union with dissenters on the ground that "heresy, schism, Calvinism and *enthusiasm* are most dangerous errors³." The same biographer presents to us an ideal of the Church of England as "without enthusiasm or superstition, equally removed from Rome and the Calvinism of Geneva⁴." John Bowdler is described as being guided by one leading maxim through life which is contained in the one word "Moderation."

The Non-Jurors were equally removed from any sympathy with Mysticism. It will readily be understood that the development of thought which is to be noted in the case of William Law after the commencement of his studies of the works of Jacob Boehme was regarded with disapproval by his former friends. Law seems to have drifted away from his earlier associates since the time of the Union of 1732, and after his retirement to Kingscliffe in 1740 his churchmanship became increasingly modified by his mystical views. He did not accept the name of either Protestant or Papist according to the common meaning of the word. The following quotation illustrates his fundamental standpoint:

I cannot consider myself as belonging to one society of Christians in separation and distinction from all others...As the defects, cor-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 289.

² *Ibid.* vol. XVII, f. 134 Brett to Rawlinson, June or July 1739.

³ *Memoir of John Bowdler*, p. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 318.

ruptions, and imperfections which some way or other are to be found in all Churches hinder not my communion with that under which my lot is fallen, so neither do they hinder my being in full union and hearty fellowship with all that is Christian, holy, and good in every other Church division¹.

The Non-Jurors who remained about the year 1740 had neither understanding of nor sympathy with these tendencies. Several pitying references to "poor Mr Law" are to be found in the Brett letters of this period, *e.g.* Robert Gordon, writing on the 23rd March 1741/42, refers to Law's latest book. "To what a pitch of illusion has this poor Mr Law arrived²." Brett's reply, dated the 26th March, presents the same note: "Referring to Law's devotions to Jacob Boehme, I am heartily sorry to find so much difference between the Mr Law who wrote so judiciously against the Bishop of Bangor twenty years ago and the Mr Law that writes now."

So far as the purposes of this book are concerned, William Law disappears at this point. His donation of ten pounds for the benefit of Thomas Deacon which was made in 1753 through John Byron shows that his connection with his old friends was not entirely interrupted³. William Law, regarded as a Non-Juror, stands apart. He cannot be classed as belonging to any particular section, and his mysticism which coloured the whole of his later life was foreign to the genius of the movement. It is hoped that the new information as to Law's connection with the controversies between the Non-Jurors has been given in such a form as will add interest to the study of the character of a man whose life has been fully written by competent historians.

It is convenient to insert here some curious information concerning the question of the relations which existed between the head of the House of Stuart and the Non-Jurors. It is not possible to give any detailed account of the negotiations which were certainly conducted about this period, but it is proposed to quote a few passages from a paper which is preserved in Major Mott's collection and is of extraordinary interest. It contains certain references, the meaning of which is not clear. The paper is in the handwriting of

¹ *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 163.

² Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 199.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 141.

Robert Gordon, and is obviously a copy from a previous document. It bears the date of 25th May 1741.

I received in due time the Letter or Paper written by your friend in March last with another short Paper in the same hand that accompanied it. I have perused both with affection and satisfaction and can easily remark in them a fund of experience, good sense and affection for our Country and my Family....It would be a subject of just concern to me if any who professed my religion should by their writings or discourse have given ground to attribute ill maxims so contrary to its true Principles as those mentioned in your friend's letter; and if any of my well wishers in general declare in their conversations for arbitrary power, they act equally against my sentiments and interest;...these are inconveniences and misfortunes for which I cannot be answerable and to which I have it but little in my power to put any remedy while the enemies of my Family make, to be sure, the most of everything that can tend to our disadvantage and can do it without restraint. It is therefore, no wonder that I should be so much misrepresented and so little known; were my conduct in the town of R. put in a true light, it would not a little contribute to dissipate the ill grounded fears and jealousies of many. And as for my sincerity in what I may promise even during my exile, no doubt should be held on that head by any reasonable man who will rightly consider the present situation of my Family. We have now been more than 50 years out of our Country; we have been bred and have lived in the school of adversity unacquainted with flattery and power which always attend Princes on the Throne, and equally unacquainted with certain ambitious views which are too common to them...I am far from approving the mistakes of previous reigns. I see and feel the effects of them and should be void of all reflection did I not propose to avoid them with the utmost care, and therefore I do not entertain the least thoughts of assuming the Government on the footing my Family left it. I am fully resolved to make the Laws the rule of my Government and absolutely disclaim any pretensions to a Dispensing Power...it is fit your friend should know that I have by me a draft of a declaration which there never hath yet been an occasion to publish; this declaration is drawn in consequence of the sentiments and reflections expressed in this letter. It contains a general indemnity without exception for all that hath been passed against me and my Family; a solemn engagement to maintain the Church of England as by the Law Established...and as I am utterly averse to all animosities and persecutions on account of religion, it also contains a promise to grant and allow a Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters....In fine, were I known

and were justice done to my sentiments it would I am convinced make many alter their present way of thinking and induce them to concur heartily in measures for my restoration.

Interesting and suggestive as this memorandum undoubtedly is, as revealing the hopes and policy of the titular James III, it is necessary to limit any comment which may here be made to the particular question of a definite sanction for further consecrations to the Episcopate. This question of what may be correctly styled a renewal of the Royal Consent appears to have been raised by Richard Rawlinson in the year 1737 shortly after the consecration of Mawman. It is mentioned in a letter from Thomas Wagstaffe to Brett dated the 2nd October 1737. Wagstaffe had heard of Mawman's consecration and sent him his congratulations. He mentioned that he had received a letter from Dr Rawlinson in which the opinion was advanced that directions from the "Lord of the Manor" would solve all difficulties in the future¹. It is obvious that it would fall to the lot of Wagstaffe to conduct the actual negotiations and this was a task from which he would willingly have been excused, and of which in the end he was heartily tired. On the 31st December 1737, Rawlinson himself wrote to Brett on this same subject. The quotations which are made from this letter contain a curious phraseology which the Non-Jurors felt it necessary to use, and which will probably not present any difficulty to the reader:

I doubt not but what that you have received a line from Durham petitioning the landlord to enable his out-stewards to put new lives into the copyhold as they drop and this morning letters from his domestic stewards persuade me it may be done without any damage to any, nay, rather, to the consent of all by a joint application.

Rawlinson expresses a hope that Brett will join in such an application². Brett could not see his way to accede to this request. In a letter which he wrote to Wagstaffe (a copy of which without date is preserved) he gives his reasons as follows:

I think there is a very obvious reason why we should not think it proper to make any such application as has been proposed with regard to the renewal of the leases, but should rather quietly proceed to do as we have done. And as to Dr R. upon whose account alone this method was first proposed, we are very well

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XI, f. 81.

² *Ibid.* f. 115.

satisfied that if it should have the desired effect he would still find some other excuse for not concurring with us, and make objections to every person we should approve, having already in effect declared that he will have nobody that formerly joined you and me¹.

The "obvious reason" against the proposal was that a refusal of the request would have led to great confusion. It will have been noticed that Brett's language concerning Rawlinson is not by any means cordial. It is evident indeed that Brett and his colleagues were not satisfied about Rawlinson's sincerity in the matter, and the event proved that their mistrust was not without foundation. Wagstaffe pointed out repeatedly that the real difficulty lay in the division of the Non-Jurors into separate camps. The changes of opinion on the part of everyone concerned in this matter are difficult to follow and are not perhaps of much importance, but it appears that Rawlinson continued to press the matter, and obtained from Smith and Mawman formal letters of application for the "Landlord's permission." Rawlinson thereupon urged the matter on Brett and asked him to sign the declaration and to induce his namesake in Sussex to do the same. Brett, however, would not stir from his former position. There are preserved many letters of this date containing mutual charges of treachery and vacillation². Thomas Wagstaffe, who would in the long run be called upon to conduct the actual business, supposing that the "stewards" were ever able to agree, was not disposed to conceal his indignation at this extraordinary state of affairs, and expressed himself in no measured terms. It will suffice to quote from one letter which was written by Wagstaffe to Rawlinson, by whom a copy was forwarded to Dr Brett. The actual date is not preserved, but it may be taken as about May 1740:

As sick as I was of the affair of the leases, I am more so by reason of a passage in the letter enclosed to the North, of which you sent me a copy in your last. The writer of that letter tells his correspondent that he finds by a letter he has had from me that I have acquainted My Lord with what is proposed; such an application is now expected and it will be ill-taken if they proceed further before such application has been made, which is a strange comment on my words and not at all authorised by the original. For as I never spoke one word to the Landlord about this affair, so

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 131.

² *Ibid.* vol. xi, ff. 485, 505; vol. xii, f. 513.

never said that I had acquainted him with the proposal. I told that gentleman, as I believe I told you, that I had spoken to another person about it and that I had some reason to believe that the L-lrd was no stranger to it. But this is very far from saying that I had acquainted the L-lrd with the matter¹.

The "letter enclosed to the North" was a letter written by Brett to Smith. Wagstaffe mentioned the question again in a personal letter to Brett, in the course of which he made some pointed remarks about the latter's vacillating methods².

Here for a time the matter was postponed. It is difficult to give an intelligible account of the resumption of these negotiations without first relating the story of the consecration of the last Non-Juror bishop of the regular line, which, strangely enough, was completed before an agreement was reached on the question of the "leases." There was no doubt as to the candidate for the office. Robert Gordon was the pastor of a congregation in London, in early middle life, of high personal character, and had everyone's good word, with the possible exception of Rawlinson, who with his customary "queerness" adopted an attitude which his colleagues found very difficult to understand. The question of Gordon's consecration had been mentioned on several occasions since the consecration of Mawman, and in the spring of 1739 Bishop Smith wrote to Rawlinson formally proposing this further addition to the Episcopate. In a letter addressed to Brett on the 25th May 1739, Smith mentioned that "Dr R. was very angry, he threatens to join with Leo." John Blackburne was for some unknown reason named Leo by his opponents, and what Smith meant to convey was that Rawlinson threatened to go over to the communion of Blackburne if the proposal of Gordon's consecration was not abandoned. Bishop Smith, with his usual bluntness, puts the following estimate on Rawlinson's attitude: "The truth is he can't bear the thought of a colleague in town³." The consent of Gordon himself was obtained in the spring of 1739 and was formally conveyed to Brett in a letter dated 24th April of that year⁴. Among other letters urging upon Gordon the duty of taking up the Episcopal Office is one from Bishop T. Mawman which is interesting on account of its peculiar phraseology.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 39.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XI, f. 455.

² *Ibid.* f. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 435.

TIMOTHY MAWMAN to ROBERT GORDON. *Stockton, 3rd April 1739*

You must remember that about two years ago you were strongly solicited to take upon you the guardianship of an orphan of very antient family and considerable effects. But, alas, you are very sensible (and I mention it with grief) those effects have been vastly lessened and the estate itself miserably involved of late years, through cross accidents, the loss of some heads, and the perfidy and inactivity of others who pretended at least to be so; and as the case now stands, the death of anyone of the present Trustees must so deeply affect the Lady's fortunes that there be scarce any possibility to prevent her ruin. On the first application you endeavoured to excuse yourself by urging that there were a sufficient number of Higher Relations to execute the trust, and that your being concerned would probably give offence to one of them in your neighbourhood. But as that gentleman refused to act in a matter of some consequence and is so irresolute and hardly to be depended upon at any time, perhaps when most needed, I presume to renew the application to you in Her name and must not take any refusal. You know all concerned in the trust, except that one gentleman, are at a great distance from the principal state, that some lives in that estate are very old and that the Grand Lease will need to be renewed very shortly. For that reason a sufficient number design to meet in town this Summer, to settle that affair in a regular manner, and are resolved to insert your name in the new lease. I must own, as it is, you have borne a chief part of the burden and have done a great deal for the Orphan's advantage for which you have her thanks, but as there are some things you could not do for want of a larger commission, she desires you'll take upon you the trouble of her principal agent at London, which from your former good offices she knows none so well qualified for as yourself¹.

The matter was deferred for some years, owing in great part to Rawlinson's refusal to commit himself to any definite decision. Thomas Brett appears at one time to have been persuaded by Rawlinson that there was no need to hurry the affair. He addressed a long letter in July 1739 to Gordon referring to Rawlinson's threats "to join the gentleman whom he calls Leo," and suggesting that, as there was no immediate urgency, the aid of Mr John Cotton should be invoked with a view to the eventual reconciliation of Dr Rawlinson. There are not many instances of the laity being consulted in these matters, and the letter which Brett wrote to Cotton on this occasion will therefore be read with interest.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xi, f. 435.

THOMAS BRETT to JOHN COTTON, *Esq.*, 16th June 1739

It has been proposed that Mr Gordon should be made a colleague with Dr R., Mr S., Mr M., and myself, but Dr R. seems not to approve of it. And it is with great difficulty that Mr G. himself has been prevailed upon to be joined with us. Also he has added as a proviso that he may have your approbation. And indeed I think it very proper that you should be consulted on this occasion. For my own part, I know not a fitter person to be associated with us and therefore readily yielded to the proposal. But as I would not do anything which may make the difference among us greater than it is at present, or totally alienate Dr R. from us, I think it expedient to take some time for further deliberation, and to defer this matter till another year. I suppose you will be in town some part of the Winter at least and then if you and one or two gentlemen more will be so kind as to talk to Dr R., I hope he may be brought to a compliance or at least to give some reason why he refuses to comply¹.

Mr Cotton gave his hearty approval of the nomination of Gordon, but there is no record of any interview with Rawlinson who in any case remained entirely unmoved. The delay in the proceedings was not liked by George Smith, who said some unkind things about his colleague of London House. In a letter written to Brett on the 8th August 1740 he was almost disposed to abandon the matter in despair: "Through the intrigues of a certain Doctor I never expect to see you again²." This letter appears to have convinced Brett that nothing was to be gained by further delay, and arrangements were made that the consecration should take place at Spring Grove on the Feast of St Barnabas 1741. The northern bishops would naturally have preferred that London should have been selected, and ventured on an offer to defray Brett's expenses, but this particular proposal was not pressed, and the original arrangements were duly carried out. The affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, and on this occasion at least no information of any kind was divulged. Particular care was exercised to prevent any knowledge of the matter coming to the ears of Rawlinson, and the news was broken to him by Gordon himself when the course of events as to the leases, the relation of which will shortly be resumed, made it a point of necessity. Modern readers are, however, allowed to know many details of this consecration which are taken in the main

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 123.

² *Ibid.* f. 71.

from an account of the matter given by Brett in a letter addressed to his son Nicholas in Angers. Smith and Mawman travelled up to London together and evidently made a summer holiday of it. On the 6th June the two bishops reported themselves at Mr Cotton's house¹.

They left London for Spring Grove on Monday, 8th June 1741, and the remainder of the story may be quoted from Brett's letter:

Mr Smith and Mr Mawman came on Wednesday afternoon with Mr Gordon and Mr Soulby but they dined at the "Flying Horse" before they came and walked down to my house, leaving their horses at the inn. And thither Mr Gordon and Mr Soulby returned at night. But Mr Smith and Mr Mawman lay here. Mr Cotton and Mr Bowdler lay at Canterbury whence they went to see Mrs Dixon and sent for Mrs Herbert. On Thursday morning they were here by 8 o'clock and all breakfasted and dined with us and about 6 at night they took horse and went for London, designing to reach Sittingbourne that night, next day to Dartford and thence to London on Saturday, and so make up their week's ramble for they came from London on Monday morning².

Gordon wrote to Brett a letter of thanks for his hospitality and mentioned the fact that "our friends to the North would have to travel six in a coach to York...the affair has been a complete secret³." Brett acknowledged this letter on the 21st July: "I am glad to understand Dr R. continues ignorant of the late transaction. It is very fit he should continue so. Had I come to town he and others would have been suspicious."

Thus began the long and pathetic episcopate of Robert Gordon, the last in the regular line in the succession from Archbishop Sancroft, but justly reckoned among the first for devotion and good works.

On the 17th November 1741 there took place the death of John Blackburne at "More Lane, London," according to Rawlinson's record. He was buried on the 21st November at the east end of

¹ See Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1711. Bishop Rattray to Bishop Keith, 15th July 1741. "R. Lyon reported Bishop S. at Mr Cotton's house on the 6th June...there was another bishop with them...they were going to Dr Brett's in order to a consecration."

² Brett MSS., vol. XIII, f. 249. Dr Brett to his son Nicholas, 13th June (O.S.), 24th June (N.S.) 1741.

³ *Ibid.* vol. XII, f. 153. Bishop Gordon to Dr Brett, 25th June 1741.

In nomine Domini Amen. Nos Thomas Becc. Georgius Smith et
 Amosius Illawman Ecclesie Anglicanae Episcopi Catholici, in sinu Domini congregati, tam
 Officii nobis a Domino mandati, quam sequitatis humanae memores, acq. saluti Ecclesie Anglicanae
 illius sanctam catholicam illibatam Episcoporum fideliem successorem in eccia sine perpetuando consu-
 lere volentes, nobiscum statum ad episcopalem, hereditarij Ordinem et dignitatem alios probos fideles
 et ad docendum et regendum idoneos homines erodere et deliquere. Inter quos esse scimus reverendum
 virum Robertum Gorden Presbyterum sacro muneri impunitis optumet idoneum esse. et sic igitur di-
 cum Nummus prajudic fecti, sup. canonum notum equegrum virum Robertum Gorden Presbyterum, ob pisa-
 tem prudentiam, morum integritatem, eruditionem, ob usque quoq. eras Matrem Ecclesiam, de qua optime
 meruit, offitium nobis notissimum, et a nobis magna in asynachione habitum, in Festo sancti Barnabe,
 juxta modum formam et stilum sibi libet libere Ecclesia Anglicana, cui salus, et honor, et incrementum
 et utilitas, et augmentum, et profectus, et utilitas, et honor, et incrementum, et utilitas, et honor, et incrementum
 Patris p. annuati Thomas Becc. apud. in parochia de ille, in Comitatu Cantii, presenti-
 bus idoneis testibus, tunc et ibidem in Episcopum ordinarius et consecratus. In capite et in fine
 sequis quibus unum Episcopalia hanc Instrumentis, christophis nostris subscris, etiam in unio, apponi scri-
 mas, undecimo die Junij Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo quadagesimo primo. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

27.
 Becc. Georgius
 Smith. Amosius
 Illawman

Islington Churchyard. A letter from Robert Gordon, dated 21st November, gave some notable information to Dr Brett:

Mr Blackburne died on Tuesday last. He sent for Dr R. in intervals of delirium and Dr R. is to bear the pall to Islington Churchyard...the factious presbyters, being now without a head, may come in...Mr Clark is invited by the widow to hold up the pall and to have a legacy with some others¹.

It is not surprising to learn that Rawlinson and Blackburne were reconciled, but if the Mr Clark who was invited to act as pall-bearer is to be identified with the Rev. John Clark of Dunstan's Court, it may be regarded as surprising that the principal presbyter of the extreme left wing should be invited officially to attend the funeral of the leader of the clergy of the "right." The truth of the saying that extremes meet was, however, on several occasions illustrated by the mutual relations of the two sections of the Non-Jurors who for greatly differing reasons refused to adhere to the Concordate of 1732. The Will of John Blackburne contains one or two curious directions:

Imprimis I give bequeath and devise to my dear wife, Philadelphia Blackburne, all my debts, bills, bonds and securities and all my estate real and personal to her and her heirs for ever. *Item* I make constitute and appoint my said dear wife, Philadelphia, the sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made and declaring this to be my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this sixteenth day of November 1741.

The following are some particulars of the bequests: "The Chappel plate and furniture to be properly assigned and the Rev. Mr John Lindsay to have the preference and to give receipts for the same for the use of the Communion." £20 each was left to the Revs John Creyk and John Lindsay, and £5 each to the Revs Alexander Smith, Thomas Bennett and...Clark, who, it is to be presumed, may be identified with the John Clark who has been mentioned above. There is also a reference to the sum of £550 due to Blackburne from Dr Rawlinson, which when received, was to be applied to the further benefit of Creyk and Lindsay².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 181.

² P.C.C. Spurway, f. 334 (1741). A note adds that on 3rd April 1751 administration of the goods, chattels, etc., of John Blackburne, late of the parish of St Giles', Cripplegate, deceased, left unadministered by Philadelphia Heyborne, formerly Blackburne, deceased, was granted to Richard Heyborne, her lawful husband, administrator of the goods of the said Philadelphia Heyborne, formerly Blackburne.

It is difficult to estimate the character of John Blackburne. Few details of his life are known, and all of these are connected with the disputes of 1729 to 1732. The reasons which caused Blackburne to be associated with Smith in the making of the original proposals are entirely unknown, and it is not easy to see the motives which impelled him to become the most violent opponent of that scheme of conciliation of which he had been one of the originators. He had to pay the penalty which falls on those who make a complete *volte-face*, and George Smith in particular did not hesitate to make use of words of railing and condemnation. It may nevertheless be said of Blackburne that his attachment to the cause of the exiled family was unshakable, and his devotion to the Church of England, as he conceived it to be, was whole-hearted and sincere.

Gordon's expectation that the presbyters who had adhered to Blackburne might now rejoin the main body seems to have been realized to a partial extent only. Gordon, writing to Brett a couple of months later, reported that "things were pretty quiet after Blackburne's death." The principal character who desired to continue the separation was John Creyk, and Gordon thought that he could influence Dr R. not to give way to him. On the other hand, John Lindsay "sought for Dr R.'s approbation in keeping up Mr Blackburne's congregation¹."

The number of Non-Jurors who attended the few chapels in London had now become very small, and the presbyters who had held aloof from the Union gradually became reconciled to the communion of which Rawlinson, as being resident in London, came to be regarded as senior bishop.

The death of Blackburne had a further effect of removing one of the difficulties in obtaining the "L-lrd's" consent to the "leases," and Rawlinson once more took up this matter. The negotiations, being once renewed, were continued until some definite result was obtained. There are mysterious and cautiously worded references to Thomas Carte, who had evidently acted as intermediary between the Non-Jurors in England and Thomas Wagstaffe at the Court of the Chevalier. On the 27th March 1742 Rawlinson informed Brett that Carte was in town and suggested that he should be used again as an intermediary,

¹ Bishop Gordon to Dr Brett, 14th January 1741/42.

more especially as things might be more safely said to him *viva voce*¹.

It was now necessary to insert Gordon's name in the application, and the secret had at length to be made known to Dr Rawlinson, which was done by Gordon himself. The duty was evidently far from pleasant. Gordon briefly reported the matter to Brett and stated that the doctor received the news very quietly and wished him joy, but afterwards "broke out." Gordon seems, however, to have made some progress in the art of conciliating Rawlinson and used his skill on this occasion with some measure of success². There is naturally little information of the details of the negotiations, but a letter from Wagstaffe to Gordon, which bears the date of 23rd July 1742, appears to give the conclusion of the matter and is of considerable importance:

I believe you are no stranger to Mr W.'s estate and that therefore it will not be disagreeable to you to be informed of a late transaction that passed through my hands relating to it. I received a letter from the Trustees desiring me to carry a message for them to the Landlord. The intent of the message was to obtain some privileges of the Landlord and procure his consent for granting new leases upon occasion. I waited on the Landlord and delivered the message by word of mouth. He received it and the bearer of it in that obliging manner which is natural to him, made some enquiry about the number of the Trustees and the form of the leases, and expressed himself in very kind terms with regard to the persons concerned in them and in conclusion desired me to put in writing what was demanded of him, that he might consider of it, after which he would give me his answer. Accordingly I drew up a paper upon the plan of the letter of the Trustees, but more diffusive and particular in regard to the history of the Trust and their motives for application and annexed thereto a copy of the deceased Mr G.'s lease³ (which I had by me), as a specimen of the form made use of on such occasions. After he had had this paper some few days in his hands, he sent for me and told me he was very much affected with the respect shown him by that message, that the Trustees were doubtless no strangers to the promises he had made their Mother and that their family had a particular title to their regard; that as to the affair of the leases, upon examining his papers, nothing had been found of what was

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 201a.

² *Ibid.* f. 215.

³ Probably this was Bishop John Griffin's Deed of Consecration. In the Episcopal Chest there is preserved the original deed of this Consecration and also a copy which is signed by Thomas Wagstaffe as "Vera Copia."

enquired after, which made it probable that nothing was put in writing on such matter, and that for this and other reasons he thought it proper (as he conceived it would be equally satisfactory to them) instead of a formal writing, to desire me by *word of mouth* to inform them of what he had then said to me, and that he shall approve of their granting new leases hereafter to persons qualified for that favour, as they shall think requisite; but that he was of opinion that they should, on all accounts, do this sparingly, and not grant new leases without strong motives for so doing. This is the substance of his answer which he read to me out of a paper and then delivered me the paper itself, directing me to send a copy of it to the Trustees and then return it that it might be laid up and preserved, as he told me it should be, to have recourse to it upon occasion. Accordingly I have taken an exact transcript of it which I reserve, together with a copy of my paper above mentioned to send them the first opportunity¹.

There is little to be added to this curious information. Gordon stated that he had sent a copy of the answer to all the "Trustees," and that Dr R. was "very touchy" about it. In a later letter Gordon remarked on Dr R.'s attitude as being "curious and unfriendly," but thinks that he had brought the doctor to a right frame of mind². The improvement in Rawlinson's temper was hastened by a "sharp" letter from Thomas Wagstaffe, who states that he had received and returned to the proper quarter the thanks of all the trustees and that Dr R.'s was "very awkward."

There is no record of the receipt of the copy of the paper described by Wagstaffe in his letter. Gordon wrote to Brett on the 21st October 1742 to inform him that the important paper had not yet come to hand, and there is no further reference to the whole question in the Brett MSS.

The incident speaks for itself. The reference which was made by the Chevalier "to the promises which he had made to their Mother" may be noted with some degree of scepticism, as well as the assurance that "their family had a particular title to his regard." From the strictly historical point of view it should be observed that the authority given by this document (such as it was) was never exercised. The last consecration of a bishop of the regular line was performed some twelve months before the date of this "permission" from the Landlord.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 237.

² *Ibid.* ff. 239, 245, 257, 285.

There are now to be recorded a number of deaths among the clergy and laity of the Non-Jurors' community. MATTHIAS EARBERRY, who figured as a controversialist of the baser sort in the disputes of 1717, died in October 1740 "in his rambles at a gentleman's house near York¹." Considerable sums of money were found upon him, and the circumstances point to a sordid end of a strange and wandering life.

In February 1741/42 THOMAS BRETT of Sussex passed to his rest at the age of 91. The death took place at Jevington, and the burial is thus recorded in the Parish Register under the heading *Anno* 1741, "February 12, 1741/42, buried the Rev. Mr Thomas Brett in his 92nd year." One result of the new information has been to rescue from oblivion some of the minor figures of the movement. Thomas Brett of Sussex, as revealed in his letters, was a very attractive character. He was a simple, kindly old man, evidently proud of his great physical vitality, no mean scholar, and filled with a "holy zeal," as he himself puts it, for the cause of the Non-Jurors. His namesake of Spring Grove described him as a "good easy man," and in the main this estimate may be justified, but there must have been some anxious moments in 1731 when, for a few months at least, the veteran of Sussex refused to consent to the abandonment of the New Communion Office at the bidding of his brother bishop in Kent.

In July 1738 THOMAS BOWDLER, the elder, died at Boulogne. His body was brought to England and interred in Nelson's Burying Ground. Mrs Blackmore gives the information that "Dr R., Mr Cotton, and others, bore the pall, and Mr Gordon said the last office²." The character of Thomas Bowdler does not receive much illustration from the Brett MSS. He belongs principally to the earlier part of the story, and seems to have taken little part in the controversies which prevailed during the last twenty years of his life. There was in the case of Thomas Bowdler, as might be expected from one who was an associate with Samuel Pepys at the Admiralty in the reign of James II, a certain amount of personal devotion to the cause of the Stuarts, and from the standpoint of more distinctively religious thought he may be classed as a good

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 97.

² To avoid confusion of four persons bearing the name of Thos. Bowdler see biographical index, p. 309.

example of what in the present day is styled "central" churchmanship. Thomas Bowdler is described by his great-grandson (in the memoir of his own father) as occupying a very high place in the affections of the later Non-Jurors. "Sir Robert Cotton and his son looked up to him as a very valuable friend and almost as a father." These two leading families of the Non-Jurors were brought into closer alliance by means of a happy marriage, but the story of this needs as a preface an account of the doings of Sir Robert Cotton and his son. John Cotton and his wife had returned to England in 1739 and were staying at the house of Mr Pulleyn at St Neots, Huntingdonshire, when disastrous news reached them. Their eldest son, on a visit to the house of Thomas Bedford in Durham in November 1739, had died of malignant smallpox. Gordon went down to St Neots to break the news to the bereaved parents, and Nicholas Brett, who had remained in France as chaplain and general factotum to Sir Robert, was called upon to communicate to the old baronet the news of the death of his grandson. In the spring of 1741/42 the establishment in France was broken up and the family made their home in England at the two houses of Steeple Gidding in Huntingdonshire and Stretton in Bedfordshire. Nicholas Brett remained as chaplain to Sir Robert at Steeple Gidding, and the fact that he frequently wrote from that address seems to have prompted Thomas Brett to make some enquiries about the history of the Ferrars and their community at Little Gidding. It does not appear that Dr Brett had any particular knowledge of this famous incident in the religious life of the previous century. He had been reading the account given in Walton's life of George Herbert¹.

Two letters were written by Nicholas Brett in answer to the enquiries of his father on this subject.

N. BRETT to HIS FATHER, 5th March 1742/43

The fact you mention from Mr Herbert's Life about Little Gidding is true. The estate is still in possession of the Ferrars; the chapel is now a parish church as it had been formerly. The Lady that bought it and performed those acts of devotion in it, together with her son, and the then Bishop of Lincoln² settled £30 per year

¹ *The Lives of Dr John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert*. Written by Izaak Walton. Fourth edition, 1675.

² *I.e.* Bishop Williams, not Gardiner as stated by Brett.

upon the incumbent, and the late Mr Ferrar, uncle to the present possessor, rebuilt it with brick and boarded it upon the old stone pavement, but left the inside just as it was. 'Tis wainscoted with good old oak and niches in the wainscoting for the congregation to sit in, quite without pews or benches in the middle. 'Tis a very small building. I don't think 'tis much longer than the front of Spring Grove nor broader than the hall. I forgot to tell you there are two handsome seats or rather thrones, much like the bishop's throne at Canterbury, but not so fine, on each side of the door, for the Master and Mistress, each facing the Altar; the pulpit and reading desk are on each side of the door of the chancel, facing one another; in short, the whole is very neat and pretty. Just under the desk and pulpit is the Font which is solid brass and an eagle desk also of brass to answer to it; they are both so heavy that when I try to lift them one by one I cannot do it. And yet some years ago some rogues got into the church and carried off the eagle a considerable distance from the house and there left it, being either disturbed or not finding it to be gold, as it is thought in this country. The font, when the family bought the estate, was made use of for the watering of the calves. The gentleman that bought the church was a very good man and yet after he had done that, either through ignorance or from a violent aversion to anything that looked like popery, he put the cross that was upon the church before the door to make a scraper for shoes. It continued there some time till Mr Cotton representing to him the indecency of the thing he took it away but what became of it afterwards I do not know, 'twas never replaced upon the church again¹.

N. BRETT to HIS FATHER. *Steeple Gidding, 29th May 1743*

I can't give you any satisfactory account how the Ferrar family managed to get the chapel turned into a parish church neither can I find anyone able to give me the true state of the question. All that I can learn is that Mr Nic. Ferrar and his Mother suffered a bill in Chancery to be filed against them with their own consent to show a reason why they did not pay the tithes, present etc.; upon which it was decreed the Lord Chancellor should present and they should pay £20 per year in lieu of all tithes. Mr Ferrar settled over and above two pastures of the yearly rent of £10 upon the Rector which he now enjoys. I suspect it never really was a parish church but only the chapel to a convent...it was only supposed to have been a parish church in the Chancery bill and taken for granted on both sides to save the expense and trouble of an Act of Parliament...the church is called the chapel to this day².

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xiv, f. 413.

² *Ibid.* f. 417.

It is not necessary to discuss the various statements made in these letters. The story of the conversion of the cross into a scraper is, in particular, doubted by some writers who have made a special study of the subject. It was thought well, however, to print the letters in the hope that they may interest the very wide circle of those who have read *John Inglesant*, where the "acts of devotion" performed in the little chapel by Ferrar and his company have been described in romantic and beautiful language¹.

A pleasing and fortunate family event, and one which was greatly admired by the small remnant of English Non-Jurors, was the marriage of Thomas Bowdler, son of Thomas Bowdler of the Admiralty, to Elizabeth Stuart, second surviving daughter and co-heiress of John Cotton, Esq., son of Sir Robert Cotton. The marriage was celebrated on the 1st May 1742 and was in every sense a happy one. The eldest son of this marriage, John Bowdler, appears in the concluding chapter. In his life and person the gradual return of the Non-Jurors to the Church receives an excellent illustration.

The last year or two of the life of Dr Thomas Brett were marked by some increase of peace and unity among the little body which now regarded him as their venerable head. This may be illustrated by the removal of Thomas Bedford to a charge in Derbyshire, which

¹ An excellent article on Little Gidding and the Non-Jurors by Mr H. P. K. Skipton appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* of October 1921. Mr Skipton remarks on the loss to ecclesiastical literature which was caused by the disappearance of the original MS. of John Ferrar's life of his brother Nicholas. But it was seen and made use of by various Non-Juror scholars, particularly Bishop Turner, Mr Baker and Dr Jebb. "It was Thomas Hearne, another Non-Juror, who rescued and printed Lenton's vivid account of his visit to the Ferrars together with the gross Puritan travesty of it that wrought them such grievous mischief." Mr Skipton claims that the Non-Jurors may be regarded as the spiritual descendants of Ferrar and his famous community at Little Gidding. There may be some exaggeration in this statement, but general agreement may be expressed with this writer's further reference to the "indefinable quality of atmosphere which permeates the biographies, the loving work of congenial Non-Juror scholars."

The enquiries made by Brett with regard to the Ferrars resulted in some information relating to a Mr Soame or Soames, who was ejected from the living of Catworth (see Overton, *Non-Jurors*, p. 288, also Hearne's *Remarks*, vol. x, p. 400, 1st April 1731. Rev. J. Jones to H.). "We have still a singular pattern of a primitive clergyman living in the parish of Catworth (of which he was formerly incumbent) where upon his ejection he built a chapel at his own expense in which he reads prayers twice a day and preaches upon Sundays and partakes of the Holy Communion he and his small family it is said twice or at least once every day." Soame's chapel has disappeared, but there remains a gravestone on which a faint inscription of his name may still be seen.

was the subject of a letter from Bedford to Brett, dated 30th December 1741, from the

house of John Beresford, Esq., at Ashbourne, in the Peak of Derbyshire. I have changed my quarters and come hither upon an invitation to minister in this place and neighbourhood, since Mr Burdyn's death, who was near 90 and deprived at the Revolution; his name is in the catalogue of Non-Jurors at the end of Mr Kettlewell's life. I arrived here on the 23rd after four long days' journey¹.

The matter is more fully explained by a letter written by Gordon to Brett a few days later. On the death of Mr Burdyn, Dr R. was asked to provide. He consulted with Gordon, who recommended Mr Cashell of Bristol, who declined it. Gordon then recommended Thomas Bedford, to which Rawlinson agreed. Bishop Smith then wrote a letter to a leading member of the congregation, sending an account of the Union, and the following reply was received:

Your candid and open treatment of us with regard to the mixt wine we all take in good part as you mean it, and do most highly approve and readily comply with and think ourselves very much obliged to our peaceable superiors, to whom we shall on all occasions pay a due regard and deference².

The stipend attached to this charge was £40 per annum which Gordon describes as the "best he knows." On this traditional sum Thomas Bedford held the charge until his death in February 1773. Whether he "passed for rich," or no, it is known that he left a considerable sum at his death. He had some claim to literary distinction. In 1732 he published an edition of *Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus*, and in 1742 there appeared an *Historical Catechism*³.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 185. Compton, where Mr Bedford held his congregation, is a district of Ashbourne.

² *Ibid.* f. 195.

³ The following entry is to be found in the Parish Register of Ashbourne, Derbyshire:

"Buried the 25th February 1773, the Rev. Mr Thomas Bedford, a Non-Juring Preacher."

The Will of Bedford (P.C.C. 95, Stevens, dated 11th March 1771) contains some interesting information. Bequests are made to George Smith, Esq., of Burnhall, grandson of Bishop Smith, and to Rowland Burdon, also grandson of Smith through the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Rowland Burdon, Banker, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. One of the most notable bequests is a gift of £20 to "the Rev. Mr Clayton, Fellow of the Collegiate Church in Manchester, to be distributed among the children of the late Dr Deacon at his discretion and in case they do not stand in need of it the same to the Infirmary at Manchester." This may be taken as an illustration of the fact that Thomas Deacon possessed the affection of many of the regular line of Non-Jurors who were formally separated from him on questions of doctrine and discipline.

One of Brett's old adversaries could not be reconciled. A letter addressed by Brett to that truculent presbyter, John Creyk, in the summer of 1743, is one of the latest preserved in the series. Brett besought his correspondent to moderate his animosity:

If Mr Collier and I and some of us were to blame in declaring the Mixture to be necessary and thereby condemning those who did not use it, you and your friends are not less to blame in maintaining it to be unlawful and thereby condemning the Primitive Church and many eminent divines of the Church of England¹.

Dr Brett's last letter deals with the favourite subject of Liturgies. It was written to "Dear Nicky" within a few weeks of the death of the writer, and contained some account of a discussion he had had with his friend Smith, concerning the date of the earliest written Liturgies. Brett's opinion was that none were reduced to a written form before the fifth century, but Smith had contended for an earlier date². Brett agreed that the Roman Liturgy never had a more expressed form of Invocation than the one now contained in *Quam Oblationem*, which opinion agrees sufficiently well with the conclusions of modern scholars.

Thomas Brett died on the 5th March 1743/44. There are no additions to the MSS. after this date and there is no description of the burial. Brett was laid to rest in the family vault at Wye. The plain inscription records the fact of the resignation of his benefices "because he could not comply with the terms then imposed with a clear conscience³."

His widow survived until the 7th May 1765⁴.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 546.

² *Ibid.* vol. XIII, f. 347.

³ Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. I, p. 409.

⁴ A copy of Dr Brett's last Will is preserved among Major Mott's papers. It bears the date of November 23rd, 1743. Brett describes himself as "a priest (though unworthy) of that sound part of the Catholic Church commonly called the Church of England, established by Law." It will be noted that no claim is made to Episcopal Orders and that the wording differs greatly from that used by Brett in 1720. It is to be remembered that Wills must of necessity be drawn up from a legal standpoint, but after making due allowances on this head it is clear that Brett had travelled a long way on the road which led to a complete return to the Church of England.

Thomas and Bridget Brett had twelve children, seven of whom died in infancy. A third surviving son, James, was apprenticed in 1736 to a certain Melmoth, an apothecary at Snow Hill, and died in that same year. In a letter written to Campbell, 22nd March 1735/36 (College Papers, No. 486, Letters of Brett and Campbell), Brett informed his friend that James had dined with the Lord Mayor of that year, who was cousin to Mrs Brett.

The bequests which Thomas Brett made to his family may be summarized

The character of Thomas Brett may be divined from the full account given in the present book, which may perhaps in some sense be regarded as a biography of one to whom full justice has not hitherto been done. His learning was sound and deep, his personal character was high, and the tone of his mind was eminently conciliatory. The manner of his life, which was for the most part spent in the retirement of Spring Grove, inevitably tended to cramp and limit his interests. There is no record of any travel from the county of Kent, except in the case of occasional journeys to London, and it is pathetic to reflect that a man of exceptional ability had never during the whole course of his life more than a mere handful of people under his charge. Some critics of the Non-Jurors have expressed a doubt as to whether the learning of the leaders was as great as is popularly supposed. Thus, W. J. Copeland, writing to Archdeacon E. Churton on 27th December 1857, submits that knowledge which is merely an undigested mass of information is not learning, but really a "great apparatus of learning. I cannot think the Non-Jurors would have become eventually so narrow had their learning had a broader basis and been more solid in its construction¹." It may be that it is unjust to apply this criticism to Thomas Brett, but the cramping effect of the circumstances of his life cannot be denied. Nevertheless, it remains true to say that Thomas Brett represents a high type of a scholar and a gentleman of which English Christianity may well be proud.

Archibald Campbell only survived his old friend a few months. He died on the 16th June 1744 and was buried near to Bishop Hicke in St Margaret's Churchyard.

No inscription marks the resting-place of either of these prelates whose influence upon their own movement and on the general history of the Church was of great importance. Campbell took part in no less than eight consecrations and the "succession" would have been, apart from his assistance, seriously in jeopardy on more

as follows: reference is made to the fact that the three eldest children, Boys, Margaret and Sara, had already received as much as they could reasonably expect. "My son, Nicholas Brett, is my only child who has not in my lifetime received any portion from me. Therefore I give and bequeath to my beloved wife, Bridget Brett, and to my said son, Nicholas Brett, all my estate real and personal to them and the survivor of them, their heirs and assigns for ever."

¹ From a letter in the possession of Miss Inge of Oxford.

than one occasion. It has been possible in these pages to free Campbell from the charge of being a reckless extremist, and it should be laid to his credit that he received the affection and confidence of Thomas Brett and preserved it to the end¹.

¹ There is preserved in the papers of the Episcopal Chest, No. 303, a copy of Campbell's last Will, dated 15th July 1740. It appears in the form of a letter written on the 1st February 1760 by David Guthrie to Robert Lyon in Lady Cotton's house in London. Campbell desired to be buried near Bishop Hickee. A curious declaration of faith forms a preface to the Will itself. "With regard to the Creed of St Athanasius in the last paragraph but one I understand the everlasting fire therein mentioned as only Aeviternal according to the Greek τὸ πῦρ τὸ Αἰώνιον and I understand the perishing everlastingly in the second paragraph with the same limitation...and I wish the last paragraph of this creed were thus expressed, 'This is the Catholic Faith concerning rewards and punishments,' for they would make some good men easy who are startled at these words."

CHAPTER VIII

LAST STAGES OF THE MOVEMENT

BISHOP SMITH AND THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS—STORY OF THE ORTHODOX
BRITISH CHURCH—NICHOLAS BRETT AND RETURN TO THE ENGLISH CHURCH—
DEATH OF GORDON — THE SCOTTISH CHURCH ABANDONS JACOBITISM

THE position of the Non-Jurors, so far at least as outward organization is concerned, can be briefly reviewed. In London, Bishops Rawlinson and Gordon received the allegiance of the Non-Jurors who had adhered to the Concordate of 1732. In the far north, Bishops Smith and Mawman had the oversight of the congregations in Newcastle and Stockton, and were in full communion with the bishops in the south. There is no record of any attempt made to fill the vacant place in the Episcopate caused by the death of Thomas Brett. It is probable that the matter was debated between the surviving bishops, but there is no evidence of it.

The impossibility of continuing the succession, as the years went on, was doubtless clearly perceived if not expressed by the leaders of the Society which was now ready to disappear.

Mention should be made of two presbyters of the central group, both of whom bore historical names, Nicholas Brett and Thomas Bedford. Mr Brett continued to act as chaplain to Sir Robert Cotton for some time after the death of his father. He married Rebecca, daughter of William Brandon, by whom he had three children, Thomas, Nicholas and Rebecca, but the date of the marriage and that of his settlement in the family home at Spring Grove are both unknown. There are certain dates from the comparison of which it may be possible to form a conclusion that Mr Brett set up his home at Spring Grove at a period soon after the death of Sir Robert Cotton in 1749. The three children who have been named were not of age to be confirmed until 1774, but, on the other hand, in the spring of 1762 John Bowdler, who was then a youth of 16, was sent by his father as pupil under the care of Nicholas Brett at Spring Grove. The developments of thought and conviction in the direction of a return to communion with the Established Church, which were manifested by Mr Brett in his later years, will receive notice in the following pages. There are not wanting traces of the same tendency in the case of Bishop Thomas Brett, and it may be permitted to conjecture that Nicholas Brett's

gradual *rapprochement* to the Church was a natural development of his father's trend of thought from the time of the abandonment of the standpoint which the Usagers had adopted in 1720.

The establishment of Thomas Bedford in a charge at Compton, Ashbourne, has already been noted. From a letter of Robert Lyon, dated 27th August 1757, it appears that Bedford was accustomed "to traverse the north-west parts from Chester to York. When at home he has a congregation only of seven or eight and at several of his halting places only two or three¹." It may be assumed that in these "missionary" journeys Bedford would act under the guidance and authority of his brother-in-law, Bishop Gordon.

Robert Lyon, formerly presbyter at Crail in Fife² became chaplain about the year 1740 to John Cotton at Stretton. Lyon is, from the historian's point of view, a person of great importance on account of his correspondence with Bishop Alexander. Many of these letters are preserved amongst the "College Papers" and afford much information on English affairs. It was under Lyon's auspices that Bishop Rattray's posthumous volume *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* was published in 1744³. After the death of Sir John Cotton in 1752 Lyon continued to be chaplain to the household of Lady Cotton. He died on the 8th July 1761 at Kensington at the house of James Elphinstone in the 73rd year of his age. Lyon showed great anxiety at any correspondence between the Scottish bishops and clergy and the "Manchesterians" (as the followers of Thomas Deacon were sometimes styled). He expressed a strong distrust of this section, which was not, as will be seen, fully shared by Bishop Alexander and other Scottish leaders.

The separate party of presbyters formerly under the care of John Blackburne, may now be said to have been absorbed by the main body. One of Rawlinson's fragmentary notices illustrates the gradual return of the outstanding presbyters to friendship and communion with Rawlinson and Gordon.

7th November 1747 *obit* Rev. Alexander Smith, Scots Episcopal Clergyman, at his lodgings in Bennett Street, near Strong's (?) passage, Westminster, and was buried near Dr Hickes and Mr

¹ From a letter in the College Papers from Lyon to Alexander.

² Lyon must be carefully distinguished from Robert Lyon of Perth who was executed at Penrith on the 28th October 1746.

³ For a full account of this work see Bishop Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 73.

Bedford in St Margaret's Churchyard, on the 10th November. The office was performed by the Rev. Mr Creyk...the pall-bearers were Dr R. Rawlinson, the Rev. Mr Robert Gordon, Mr Phil. Brooks, Mr John Lindsay, Mr Ric. Russell and Mr Thomas Bennett. He left £100 to a college at Aberdeen, £50 to the Scots Episcopal Clergy and £50 to the English Non-Jurors¹.

The communion which was now under the guidance of Thomas Deacon in Manchester showed signs, comparatively speaking, of considerable vitality. There is no doubt that Deacon was able to attract to himself a certain number of disciples, and to inspire them with enthusiasm sufficient to carry on the organization for a period of fifty years after his decease. By the death of Archibald Campbell the care of the small church in London devolved upon Deacon, who wrote to the clergy lately owning allegiance to Campbell a letter which has been described as truly "primitive" by members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, who at a later period preserved and copied this curious allocution of the lonely bishop in Manchester². In this letter Deacon solemnly assumes the care of the small distressed Church and desires to have a list of the names of every member, "following the advice of the Holy Martyr, Saint Ignatius, to the Blessed Polycarp, to enquire about everyone by name." It should be noted that this section did not attach much importance to the title of Non-Juror. They were known by the names of the Orthodox British Church, Dr Deacon's Clergy, or the "Manchesterians." Even in Deacon's lifetime Jacobitism was to all intents and purposes abandoned. If this should be regarded as an exaggerated statement in view of the fact that Deacon lost three sons in the rising of 1745, reference may be made to a statement made by him in the *Chester Courant* of 9th December 1746:

The form of admitting a member into our Church has not one word in it relating to State matters;...I have told the new converts

¹ Rawlinson MSS. J. 4^a 12, p. 121. Nothing is known of this presbyter except that he was originally recommended by Bishop Rose and that he signed one or two documents in support of the revolting presbyters who did not object to the "foreigner" provided that he was on the "right" side.

² For a full account see *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 101. In 1742 Bishop Campbell conducted an Ordination for the service of "this small distressed Church." Rawlinson advised Brett of the matter on 22nd April 1742. "I hear Mr Campbell has ordained Peter Aire (?) a watchmaker of a very mean capacity and one of a better, Mr Green, admitted of Queen's College, Oxford, 1714. I suppose Mr Clark was Archdeacon, if Mr C. did not dispense with ceremonies." Brett MSS., vol. XII, f. 209.

...that I hoped they did not apply to me upon the account of national affairs and Government prayers for that we went upon a quite different scheme¹.

There has now been presented a summary of the condition of the two bodies of the Non-Jurors and their mutual relations during the period immediately following upon the death of Brett and Campbell. The two fragments which remained of the original communion were never reunited, but their relations to each other and to the Episcopal Communion in Scotland can be more intelligibly understood if the story of the latest period is regarded as a whole. Some knowledge of the state of affairs across the border is essential for a clear knowledge of this final phase of the movement. The composition of the bench of bishops in the Scottish Church was greatly altered from the time of the Concordate which was made in 1724 between the College Bishops and Bishop Gadderar, who was at that time the sole representative in the Episcopate of the point of view of the Usagers. In the Concordate of 1731 the fact is made clear that the Usagers were now at least equal in influence to prelates of the type of Irwine and Ochterlony. The next stage of development in the general attitude of the bishops to the Usages may be said to date from the year 1743, and at this time the College and Non-Usager Party had ceased to have any representatives among the bishops, who were now practically of one mind. The case was, however, different with the clergy of the Second Order. A series of disputes between bishops and presbyters took place, in the course of which the English bishops, under the leadership of George Smith, came to be involved. It will be necessary to refer to some of the details of these differences in order that the action taken by the few Non-Juror bishops who remained in England may be more clearly understood. The contentions between the bishops and their clergy were not confined to the question of the Usages. The See of Edinburgh had become vacant by the death of Bishop Freebairn on Christmas Eve 1739. The presbyters of the diocese had elected Bishop Rattray in February 1743, whose death in the following May was the cause of a critical condition of affairs for the whole Non-Juror communion of Scotland. The question of an appointment to the See of Edinburgh raised questions of the utmost delicacy, which had their origin in a secret understanding

¹ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 193.

which was arrived at in the negotiations of 1731. The party which was at that time led by Bishop Rattray had made what is to be regarded as a concession on their part with regard to nominations to the Sees of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The King was allowed to retain these appointments in his own hands or, from the point of view of the head of the house of Stuart, it may be said that he inhibited the filling of these Sees without nomination from himself. The British Government was, moreover, well informed of this arrangement. The bishops were on the horns of a dilemma. If they accepted a nomination from the Prince and acted upon it there could be no doubt as to the punishment and ruin that would follow. If, on the other hand, they themselves appointed a bishop, the breach with the exiled king would be complete and would lead to serious internal divisions. The British Government would in this event also certainly proceed to extreme measures, under the natural conviction that the collation of a bishop to Edinburgh had been done by nomination of the Prince. In view of these considerations, the hesitation of the bishops to take action in this particular matter is not hard to understand, and, as a matter of fact, the See remained vacant for nearly forty years¹. In the disputes which arose between the bishops and clergy the disaffected presbyters were almost entirely of the "orphaned" diocese of Edinburgh, and it is important to understand the reasons for the long delay in the appointment to the See.

Bishop George Smith of Burnhall had for some years past maintained a correspondence with his episcopal brethren in Scotland. Reference has previously been made to letters which passed between Bishops Smith and Gillan². Upon the death of the latter, in January 1734/35, Smith entered upon a correspondence with Bishop Keith, which was continued for some years and had an unhappy conclusion. The trend of affairs in Scotland was not likely to commend itself to the judgment of Bishop Smith, who seems to have convinced himself that he had a particular mission to keep the feet of the Scottish bishops in the right way. In a letter to Bishop Keith, dated 26th January 1738/39, Smith had made a respectful proposal that the English Liturgy only should be used in Scotland. This suggestion was not of course seriously regarded by anyone

¹ For a full account see *Three Bishops of Dunkeld* by the Very Rev. G. T. S. Farquhar, M.A., chap. x, pp. 76 *et seq.*

² A complete list of Smith's letters to Gillan and other Scottish Prelates is given in *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, pp. 194 *et seq.*

in Scotland, and on the 27th September of the same year, Smith heartily acquiesced in the resolution of the Scottish bishops to maintain the Concordate of 1731, which left the English and Scottish Liturgies on the same footing. For the next few years the tone of Smith's letters was entirely friendly. He disclaimed any intention of interference in the affairs of another province, but in 1743 an event occurred which not only made a great stir in Scottish circles but provoked George Smith to a course of action which aroused against him the indignation of the great majority of the Scottish bishops and clergy. In May 1742 Bishop Ochterlony of Brechin died and was succeeded by the Rev. James Raitt who was consecrated in that same year. Bishop Raitt, according to the custom of the time, continued to hold the pastorate of Yeoman Shore Chapel in Dundee, and one of his first episcopal duties was to provide a pastor for the other chapel in the town which had been served by Bishop Ochterlony and his assistant. The new appointment was the cause of great dissatisfaction, and in the end a certain David Fyffe intruded into the charge of the chapel and refused all allegiance to the bishop of the place. The issue of the dispute is made clear by the following motion which was passed at an Episcopal Synod held at Edinburgh in August 1743:

After prayers were said and a meeting constituted, a complaint was offered to the Synod by Bishop Raitt, occasioned by an intrusion upon his episcopal authority acted in the town of Dundee by one David Fyffe, a presbyter in the district of Dunkeld, and after some discourse had passed thereupon, the bishops agreed to concur, as far as needful, in pronouncing the Sentence of Deposition against him, upon the Libel being found proven, after the examination of witnesses to that effect¹.

Bishop Smith conceived it to be his duty to interfere in this matter, which might reasonably be regarded as lying solely within the jurisdiction of the bishops of Scotland. The action which the English bishop took in the year 1743 was in the main conciliatory. Some of the last letters which he addressed to Bishop Brett appear to have reference to this subject, and there is here quoted a letter from Brett which is interesting as affording information of the reasonable point of view which was taken on Scottish affairs by Thomas Brett in the last few months of his life.

¹ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, pp. 48, 49.

I am sorry the difference in Scotland is not like to be reconciled. But such is the pride of the presbyters there, as well as here, that they will not allow their bishops to have any manner of authority over them. Our presbyters I remember, say in their representation "we are glad to have bishops to perform such offices as we cannot do ourselves, and to continue a succession among us"—as if to confirm and ordain was all that belonged to a bishop more than a presbyter and that Government was no part of his office. And they forget the solemn promise made at ordination. "Reverently to obey their ordinary etc." And as in Scotland there is no Liturgy established by any National Authority, I think it belongs to the bishops and not to the presbyters to determine what liturgy shall be used, and the presbyter who refuses to use the liturgy prescribed by the bishop (provided it contains nothing disagreeable to true religion, nor be defective in any material point) is guilty of the breach of the promise made at his ordination. But so little power will the presbyters allow to the bishops, that if the bishop should order him to read the Litany every day in Passion Week, he would not do it, though the rubric allows the bishops to order the reading of it on any day he thinks convenient. This seems to be the unhappy case of bishops in both nations¹.

This letter should be compared to the extraordinary action which was now taken by Bishop Smith, who appears to have considered after the death of Bishop Brett that he was free to take a more drastic action than would have commended itself to the latter prelate.

Smith paid one or two visits to Edinburgh, and on one occasion had an interview with Bishop Keith on the subject of the deposition of Mr Fyffe². Smith's own account of the result of his attempt at conciliation was that Bishops Keith and Alexander were willing to secure some compromise, but that Bishop Raitt would not listen to them. The next step which the English prelate took, however, could not easily be defended. On the 13th September 1744 he wrote in these terms to David Fyffe:

Your bishops have made canons contrary to your Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitution. They have vacated the Concordate by which alone themselves have a right to be acknowledged lawful

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xix, f. 401. Brett to Gordon.

² See *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, p. 196. Also Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 304. Letter of A. Campbell to a correspondent who cannot clearly be identified, 21st February 1743/44. The reference is to a "sad division promoted by George Smith who has been twice in Edinburgh to foment them."

Bishops. They have shown their inclination for novelty by declaring they design to compose a new Ordinal and make additions to the Catechism; they have manifested their spleen against our Communion Office by annulling that upon which its establishment is founded.... You are a sufferer for our Liturgy and therefore we have all the reason in the world to receive you and yours under our protection and you may depend upon all the assistance and encouragement I am capable of giving you¹.

Bishop Smith had in mind matters of more importance than the affairs of this solitary presbyter. The consecration of Bishop Alexander on August 19th 1743 had been followed on the next day by a Synodical meeting of the bishops. Bishop Dunbar, who was prevented from attending by the infirmities of old age, strongly urged upon his brethren the necessity of constituting themselves into a Synod. In the course of the letter sent to his colleagues on this occasion, Bishop Dunbar made use of what was afterwards acknowledged to be an unguarded expression². Referring to the Scottish Liturgy, he advised that this should only be recommended and not enjoined, because one more primitive and excellent which cost Dr Rattray much labour, and which he had left in a very fair MS. might one day be published and received with universal approbation³. The bishops, in accordance with this advice, formed themselves into a Synod and drew up sixteen canons, the majority of which had been prepared by the late Bishop Rattray. The details of these regulations are not connected with the present subject, but it should be noted that the bishops issued a strong recommendation to the clergy to use the Scottish Liturgy⁴. It was at this Synod that David Fyffe was deposed as related above.

The bishops were of opinion that they had accomplished a work of permanent value, and it may be held that, if a sufficiently long view of the fortunes of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland be taken, there was some reason for their confidence. The immediate effect, however, was a serious revolt on the part of the Edinburgh clergy in which they were abetted by Bishop George Smith. It had been determined that the dean of each diocese should be

¹ See *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, p. 221.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 157.

³ The reference is, of course, not particularly to the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem but to an Appendix which was added to the Liturgy under the title of "An Office for the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist."

⁴ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 61.

summoned to attend all Synodical meetings and to represent to the Synod any matters relating to the presbyters, but not to give any decisive voice. In accordance with this resolution, Bishop Keith, as Primus, had on the 5th December 1743 requested the senior presbyter of Edinburgh to take the necessary steps for the choosing of a dean. This meeting was held on the 17th January 1743/44. It is evident that the presbyters were in a militant mood. They claimed that their order had the right to be present at Synods and to vote decisively, and they protested against all encroachments on the rights of the second order. The canons recently made were criticized with some severity. The third, which provided that no bishop should claim metropolitanical power, was regarded as a blow to the rights and privileges of the See of Edinburgh, "whereof we humbly think ourselves guardians during the Vacancy." The fourth canon, which provided that no election to a vacant diocese should be made without a mandate from the Primus, was also obnoxious to the "Edinburgh Lads," as they were sometimes styled by their opponents. It was at this point that Bishop Smith's interference in purely Scottish affairs became aggressive and insistent. The affair of the deposed presbyter has already been noted, but the two points which seem to have aroused uneasiness in the mind of the English bishop related to the supposed desire to exclude the English Office and the right of the Scottish bishops to make canons apart from the co-operation of the civil power. Smith's style of correspondence has been commented upon in an earlier chapter. It was composed upon a scale which is intolerable to modern standards, and a brief summary of one or two of the most important arguments will suffice for the present purpose. On the 26th June 1744, Smith despatched to Bishop Keith what can only be described as a long thesis with a request that it might be laid before Keith's colleagues. The principal argument was that the bishops alone had no power to make new Canons or Offices or Rubrics. All that had been done in England was to explain the meaning of the rubrics already in existence. "The indiction of all National Synods of your Church belongs to His Majesty by the prerogatives of his Crown, and all Convocations of that kind without his Licence are merely unlawful." Smith considered further that the assembly should consist not only of bishops but of deans, archdeacons, and such of the ministry as should be elected by the rest. In his view the late proceedings were

a direct encroachment upon the just rights and privileges competent to the secular powers in Church affairs, and it appeared doubtful to him whether those who persisted in thwarting the constitution of the Church could be rightful bishops or even true members of a National Church. According to this theory, the presbyters of Edinburgh were not rebels in any sense; they were perfectly entitled in the hour of their distress to the assistance of George Smith or any other English bishop. With regard to the Liturgy, Smith considered that it would tend to peace if the English Office only were used, but was prepared to agree to a compromise, provided that the Liturgy of 1637 was used without alteration¹. There was also some reference made to a possible alteration in the Ordinal. The letter came at last to an end with a remark which may be easily understood by the modern reader that the writer was "well nigh tired²." Letters were also enclosed from Bishops Gordon and Mawman expressing general agreement with Bishop Smith's contentions. Mawman appeared at this time to have been greatly under the influence of his neighbour at Burnhall and expressed great concern at what had been done in Scotland. Gordon's approval was more cautiously worded. He did not hesitate to say that "there are some particulars in it wherein perhaps I might have chosen to express myself differently."

Bishop Keith communicated to his colleagues "the body of a very prolix and verbose letter." He pointed out that Gordon and Mawman were apparently of more moderate temper. As for Bishop Smith, he has talked of late in such a magisterial strain...and with such an air of superiority as if we all in Scotland were his petty suffragans. ...God be thanked we are in profound peace through all the nation, a few seditious persons in Edinburgh excepted, and who are only supported and abetted on by this intermeddling stranger....I now see and acknowledge my error in corresponding with this person, contrary to the advice of our deceased dear brother, the most excellent Dr Rattray, with whom I could never prevail to exchange one letter with Bishop Smith³.

The last instance of interference with the internal affairs of the Scottish Church resulted in the publication of a series of protests

¹ Smith was, of course, perfectly aware that the term "Scottish Liturgy" did not at this time mean the unaltered use of the Office of 1637.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 2092; *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, p. 200.

³ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 167; *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, p. 217.

from most of the districts against the action of the English bishop. The fact is made clear that Smith received little or no support from his own country. In a letter addressed by John Cotton on 15th October 1744 to Robert Lyon, the writer criticizes with some freedom Mr Smith's "last violent letter, in which he seems blinded with passion." Mr Cotton points out that it gave the Romish emissaries a handle to draw off persons by charging us with being a parliamentary Church¹. A similar protest was made by the representative of the other leading family of the English Non-Jurors. Thomas Bowdler wrote to Robert Lyon: "I would not be thought to be a member of an Erastian Church if I could help it and I hope that the Church of England is not such as Mr Smith represented her²."

Smith's colleagues who had joined in the original protest to Bishop Keith quickly separated themselves from his later action. Bishop Mawman wrote on the 16th August 1745 to Robert Lyon a letter in which he expressed himself as "no friend to quarrels of any kind" and "as fearful of the result of the present dispute³." Bishop Gordon did not attempt to conceal his dislike of the policy of his brother-in-law of Burnhall. He wrote to Nicholas Brett on the 11th February 1744/45 criticizing Smith's "meddling" and stating that "he would never abet his protection of Mr Fyffe⁴." On the 7th May, Gordon expressed himself in a letter to Robert Lyon as being in full communion with the Scottish bishops and stating that the presbyters in Edinburgh were not ignorant of the satisfaction which he had in the declaration⁵. In a further letter to Mr Brett, dated September 17th of this same year, Gordon recorded the information that Bishop Mawman had forsaken George Smith "on the Scottish affairs" and that Smith was now left alone. All correspondence between Gordon and his brother-in-law was for a time at least broken off⁶.

Notwithstanding his position of isolation, Smith made one more belated attempt to exercise authority in Scotland. The date was

¹ *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, p. 199.

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 585. No date is attached to this.

³ *Ibid.* No. 1201.

⁴ Pamphlet or copy-book sent back from America by Dr Cammock—copies made about 1828 by a presbyter of Leith named McMurdoch.

⁵ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1211.

⁶ College Papers, Collection of MSS. (Qto size), p. 13.

the 4th June 1747, and it will be noted that at this period the Scottish Church was lying almost prostrate under the disasters which followed the collapse of the rising of 1745. The occasion of the letter, which was addressed on this date by Bishop Smith to the Rev. Andrew Gerard, who had been elected by the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen to fill the vacant See, will receive illustration from the following quotation:

We understand that you are in a little time to be admitted to the Episcopate of which by the character you bear, we believe you very worthy. Now we find by the minutes of the late Synod that a new Ordinal, never before made use of in your Church, is to be composed against the next Consecration that shall happen, but since such a form has not the sanction of your Church and State, the bishops here think it their duty to protest against it... If therefore, your Consecration is not celebrated in the old way we cannot look upon you as a Bishop of the Church of Scotland¹. The ground for Smith's suspicions was that the Synod had considered the question of investigating *The Forme and Manner of Ordaining Ministers and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops used in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1620), which James VI had ordered to be compiled. There is no evidence that it had been decided to use this form, and certainly it never was so used. The bishops merely replied by suggesting that Smith had obtained his information from "the factious brethren in Edinburgh²."

Bishop Smith's habit of interference with the duties and responsibilities of the bishops of another nation was not calculated to make him popular with those who had to direct the affairs of this distressed Church. The general attitude of the northern bishops may be illustrated by a remark made by Bishop Alexander after a visit paid in March 1751 to the Smiths of Touch, near Stirling, who were related to the Smiths of Burnhall: "Bishop Gordon was mentioned with great veneration and Bishop Smith with no less. I joined in the applause of the former but kept silence in the latter³."

The relation of this hitherto unknown story in the life of Bishop Smith illustrates a weakness of his character. He was apt to think that he had a particular mission to set all wrongs right, and he had no great stock of patience to fall back upon when, as frequently happened, his advice was not entirely welcome. He had many

¹ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.* p. 177.

³ *Ibid.* p. 149.

times condemned Archibald Campbell for interfering in the affairs of another nation, but it did not occur to him that he himself had, to say the least, proceeded as far in the direction of interference in Scottish matters as Campbell had in the assistance and advice which he gave to his English brethren for the long period of thirty years. Nothing further is recorded of the public life of George Smith. His death took place on the 4th November 1756 with great suddenness. The illness only lasted a few hours and the end was entirely unexpected.

Robert Lyon's estimate of Smith's character, which was given in a letter to Bishop Alexander containing the news of his decease, may be quoted: "He had a large stock of knowledge and many good qualities; if he was mistaken in your affairs, *humanum est errare*; how things may go on here I know not; he makes a great blank, but God is all-sufficient." Lyon suggested that the Scottish bishops should say nothing against Smith's memory; his connection with Gordon should be remembered—"Gordon always stood your friend...any step taken now might rankle and a second error prove the worst."

Smith died in his 64th year and was buried in the churchyard of St Oswald, Durham. In addition to a Latin inscription in the church, the following is engraved on his tomb:

Here lyes the body of GEORGE SMITH OF BURNHALL ESQ. the venerable remains of a most valuable person whose manner, life and writings gave a lustre to his birth and station and showed that with the name he had all the qualifications of a gentleman, a Christian and a scholar. He died 4th November 1756, the 64th year of his age¹.

Bishop Smith's scholarship was of the highest order, and in this respect he may be placed on the level of Jeremy Collier and Thomas Brett. The opinion may, however, be advanced, with some little hesitation, that in other respects Smith can scarcely be reckoned on the same level as these two Non-Juror prelates who both deserve the title of good and great men. There was a certain "smallness" in Smith's controversial writings which is not to be found in the letters of Collier and Brett; a distinct tendency to impatience with the adversary and the not infrequent use of intemperate language.

¹ Christian, his wife, daughter of Hilkiah Bedford, survived him for no less than 25 years.

As to the actual work of a Non-Juror priest and bishop, there is no evidence that Smith held any pastoral charge except the care of the congregation in Newcastle in 1730 and 1731, and in a word it may be said that the story of the life of Bishop Smith is another instance of the effect of the narrowing and warping influences of the isolated circumstances under which the convinced Non-Juror was compelled to spend his life. Incidentally it should be noticed that the story of the Scottish troubles and the part taken in them by Smith form a warning against the commonly expressed belief that the Non-Jurors were not Erastians. Generally speaking, of course, this may be true, but Bishops Blackburne, Rawlinson and Smith certainly were Erastians and were representatives of a school of thought among the Non-Jurors of which examples were never wanting during the whole course of the movement.

It is not possible to say much concerning the later career of Richard Rawlinson. There is no evidence of any clerical function performed by him in the later years of his life. On the other hand, there is a record of a certificate from the minister and churchwardens of the parish of St Michael's, Oxford, dated the 13th October 1750 to the effect that Richard Rawlinson, Esq., son of the late Thomas Rawlinson, Kt, is now living in this parish¹. The attack which was made on Rawlinson in the *Evening Advertiser* of 19th November 1754 as being a "Mitred Non-Juror" is sufficiently well known, and also the fact that his death took place at Islington on the 6th April 1755. He was buried in St Giles', Oxford, where a notable inscription composed by Rawlinson himself during his lifetime, is to be seen². His heart is preserved in an

¹ Rawlinson MSS. J. 4^a12, p. 92. There is no indication given of the purpose of this certificate.

² Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v, p. 497.

Γνωθι σεαυτόν—Velut in speculum.

Manet omnis una nox—non moriar omnis.

Hoc Dormitorium 8 ped. lat.; 8 ped. long.

a parochia D. Egidi Oxon. concess. 25 Feb.

facult. Episc. confirmat 5 Maii J. L. arm. et

assig. A.D. M.DCC.LIV.

Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede.

Semel est calcanda via lethi.

Ultima Thule.

R. RAWLINSON, LL.D. et A.S.S.

olim Collegii S. Joannis Bapt. Oxon.

superioris ordinis commensalis

obiit VI Ap. M.DCC.LV, aet. LXV.

urn which is placed in the wall of the north aisle of the chapel of St John's College, Oxford, with the inscription:

Ubi thesaurus, ibi cor

RICHARD RAWLINSON, LL.D. et Ant. S.S.

Olim hujus collegii superioris ordinis commensalis

obiit VI April MDCCLV. AET. LXV.

The bestowal of Rawlinson's heart to the College of St John the Baptist was an act of true symbolism. It has not been possible always to depict the character of Richard Rawlinson in the most amiable light, but the University of Oxford and the College of the "Forerunner" never held in thrall a more devoted lover, and all who have to any degree come under the charm of the "sweet city" will unite to honour the memory of one of her greatest benefactors.

Bishop Mawman died on the 10th March 1763 and was buried in the churchyard of the parish of Norton, near Stockton.

The few additional facts which have been brought to light concerning Mawman show him to have been a man who possessed considerable personal influence in the neighbourhood of Stockton. His name was always mentioned with respect, and he may be regarded as an excellent representative of the considerable number of devoted and conscientious clergy who were lost to the Church through the senseless policy of the renewal of the Abjuration Oath in 1715.

The failure of the rising of the '45, which reduced the Scottish Church to the shadow of a shade, had little direct effect upon the congregations in London. The position of the "Manchesterians," notwithstanding the dreadful family loss suffered by Bishop Deacon, was probably improved, partly as a result of the natural sympathy which was extended to a bereaved father who beheld his son's head displayed upon the Manchester Exchange. It was agreed by friends and foes that Deacon's congregation in Manchester had increased since the "late hurry¹." The publication in 1747 of Deacon's *Comprehensive View*, with its two Catechisms, was an event of considerable importance². This work was better known to Deacon's immediate successors as the *Catholic Confession of the Orthodox British Church*³. Deacon's "Catechism" was from the first regarded with the greatest respect in Scotland. Bishop

¹ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.* p. 179.

³ Additional MSS. D. 30, f. 57. Cartwright to Boucher, 11th June 1785.

Forbes described it as an "incomparable performance being, in my humble opinion, the best system of divinity which has ever yet appeared¹." There are, even at the present time in Scotland, living examples of presbyters who are described as belonging to the school of "Deacon's Catechism."

The ordination of Thomas Podmore on the 11th December 1748 is worthy of note in view of the part played by the newly made deacon in the establishment of a church at Shrewsbury, an account of which will form the last development of the inspiration received from Thomas Deacon². The injunction of 1748 in favour of the Clementine Liturgy as contained in the *Compleat Devotions* has already received notice. In 1750 information is available of the state of this communion in London in the form of the desertion of the Rev. John Pierce to the communion of Bishop Gordon³. Mr Pierce communicated his resolution to secede in terms which must have been keenly felt by the bishop whom he was now about to forsake:

As they have bishops the validity of whose consecrations is indisputable and as there is not one of the other within one hundred miles of this place, and as I have always had some doubts of the regularity of that absent one, I shall not for the future stick to call our old friends my brethren or to communicate with them.

Deacon's reply was, as a matter of course, entirely uncompromising, "I desire you not to take it amiss that it will be impossible for you to communicate with our old friends and me too."

The most important event during the last few years of Deacon's life was, however, the consecration of Kenrick Price on 8th March 1751/52. Price was born in 1722 at Overton in Flintshire. He came of a family who had long been established in that place. There is nothing known of his removal to Manchester, or of the beginning of his connection with Bishop Deacon. His name stands first on the list of the witnesses to the ordination of Thomas Podmore in 1748, and it is probable that he had by that time received deacons' and priests' orders from Bishop Deacon. The evidence for his consecration is of a peculiar nature, but may be regarded as fairly reliable. There appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1792 an anonymous letter in which the

¹ College Papers (Bishop Forbes), f. A, p. 49.

² *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 138 et seq.

writer states that during his rambles in the summer he had copied the following inscription from the walls of a village church¹:

On the north side of this churchyard rests the body of Kenrick Price who for more than thirty-seven years without the least worldly profit presided over the orthodox remnant of the Ancient British Church in Manchester with truly primitive Catholic piety, fervent devotion, integrity and simplicity of manners, and every trait of character which could adorn the life of an unbeneficed primitive bishop. He died September 15th, 1790 in the 69th year of his age and the 39th of his episcopate. May he find mercy of the Lord in that Day! He was consecrated March 8th 1751/52.

The actual facts are very different from the account given in this letter. The church referred to has been identified with St Mary, Overton, in the county of Flint, and on the north wall of the chancel of this church, the following inscription is actually in existence:

On the north side of this church rests the body of KENRICK PRICE who while he lived cheerfully and punctually performed the whole Duty of a thorough good Christian. He delighted in the worship of his Maker; was kind and affectionate to his relations, sincere and obliging to his friends and to the Poor truly charitable.

On the family tombstone the following words are inscribed: "Here also lieth the body of KENRICK PRICE of Manchester, Gent, son of the above Edward and Eleanor Price who died September 24th 1790 in the 69th year of his age²." The facts now detailed, together with the directions which were given in Price's Will that he should be buried with his "dear mother at Overton," may be taken as a proof of the identity of the man buried at Overton with the successor of Thomas Deacon in Manchester. What, then, is the meaning and authority of the letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1792? It is well known that letters were frequently inserted in this and other magazines in the eighteenth century for purposes of propaganda. In this case the writer (who conceals both his own name and that of the church) obviously put on record what he thought ought to have been inscribed on the tablet erected to the lately deceased bishop. The letter evidently came from the pen of one of the few persons to whom the secrets of the very small body

¹ Page 808.

² The entry in the Burial Register gives the date of the interment as 20th September.

of "Manchesterians" were known, and on the whole the date of the consecration of Price given by him may be accepted as correct¹.

Bishop Deacon died on the 16th February 1753², and was succeeded in the charge of the small communion in Manchester and London by the bishop whose consecration has just been discussed.

The two communions of those who had been previously called Non-Jurors were now to all intents and purposes represented by Bishop Gordon of the regular line and Bishop Kenrick Price of the irregular succession derived from Archibald Campbell. Some hitherto unknown negotiations which were conducted between these two bodies and the distressed Episcopal Church of Scotland are now recorded. It is evident from one or two letters of Robert Lyon to Bishop Alexander in 1757³ that some proposals had been made for a Concordate between the communions of Bishops Gordon and Price. There are no details available except what may be gathered from a few hints in the letters of Lyon who was always extremely hostile to the "Manchester people" and rarely wrote of them without some expressions of contempt. In February 1757 Lyon makes a distinct reference to a scheme of reconciliation: "Could the 'Manchesterians' be satisfied with the four points about which the unhappy separation was first made they would have no good reason for professing a separation from Bishops Mawman and Gordon," and on the 27th of the same month Lyon mentions again what he calls the "project of union." He states that he had had a visit from both Nicholas Brett and Thomas Bedford, but that neither of them had spoken of this project, and that Bishop Gordon had not made any communication to any of them on the subject. "So that for anything I know Gordon may have considered it as a point so tender as not to be mentioned to anybody." Nothing resulted from these obscure negotiations. Bishop Gordon, according to a further account given by Lyon, had declared that he "would not open or alter the Agreement as it now stands." From the point of view of the communion of Bishop Price the matter was not unfairly stated in a further letter of Lyon dated the 13th October 1759: "I hold it quite needless to expect that

¹ It is probable that the writer of this letter was William Cartwright, who will enter into the story in the following pages.

² For details see *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 142.

³ The letters of Lyon to Alexander are all preserved in the College Papers, but as they are not catalogued they cannot be referred to with greater definiteness.

they will abate one ace of what their Apostle has left with them."

Some negotiations in which the remnant in Scotland and the two fragments in England were all concerned are now to be related. The difficulties which had arisen between the presbyters of the vacant See of Edinburgh and their bishops, so far from being laid to rest by the troubles which followed on the battle of Culloden, actually survived in an aggravated form. Lyon is once more the source of information. In a memorandum dated 1758, which is written throughout in a highly sarcastic vein, he refers to the eighteen original presbyters of 1743 and states that the successors of these men were still of opinion that they were the guardians of the See and were only prepared to acknowledge the bishops on terms which practically amounted to the complete submission of the Episcopal Order. The details of these Scottish troubles are wearisome and unprofitable. The names of most of the leaders of the revolt in Edinburgh are fairly well known to students of the religious history of Scotland in the eighteenth century. William Harper, senior and junior, James White, David Lyon and Alexander Robertson and others appear repeatedly in the letters of this period, and their identity is often concealed under strange nicknames. The fact that this section made direct application to Bishop Gordon for assistance and held at any rate some correspondence with the "Manchesterians" is, however, of direct importance to the present subject. The "rebellious" presbyters had elected as their bishop the Rev. Alexander Robertson. The refusal of the bishops to confirm this election led to a regrettable state of feeling, and the disaffected party made an appeal to Bishop Gordon. The actual nature of the communications is not clearly defined, but it may be taken for granted that the Edinburgh clergy would, at least, feel their way towards the possibility of obtaining a consecration for their elected bishop at the hands of Robert Gordon¹. The attitude which Gordon took was entirely favourable to the cause of the bishops, and Bishop Alexander expressed the gratitude felt by himself and his colleagues in a letter addressed to the Rev. Robert Forbes on the 21st September 1761². "This letter of

¹ For full details see *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, pp. 214 *et seq.*

² Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1214. Alexander to Gordon, 20th July 1761; and Gordon's reply, 1st August 1761.

Bishop Gordon is a precious jewel and shows the author in the most lovely light."

Information may be gained from Lyon's letters that the separated clergy of Edinburgh attempted to conduct negotiations with the communion of Bishop Price. The little that is known on this subject comes from the pen of one who, with great frankness, expressed hostility to the whole scheme. The letters which deal with this particular part of the subject contain references to two of the later adherents of the Orthodox British Church, who have not hitherto appeared in these pages. The names of PHILIP BROWN and WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT have received attention from previous writers, but it is now possible to present a more detailed account of the lives of two of the latest successors of Thomas Deacon.

PHILIP BROWN (1727-79) received the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh University in July 1750. The title of his thesis was "*de praesagiis ex oculis in morbis acutis et chronicis*," and it was dedicated as follows:

Nobili pari fratrum Richardo, et Carolo Johnstone, salutem, decus, optimosque in republica honores, optat Philippus Brown. Insignis benevolentiae et benignitatis, ab illustrissima, et nobilissima vestra matre ANNANDIAE MARCHIONISSA, omni virtute praeclara, in me accumulatae gratum memoremque animum semper praestabo. Accipite, illustrissimi fratres, hoc grati mei animi testimonium; valete, rei literariae fautores semper adeste. Dat. EDIN. a. d. III. Non. Jul. MDCCL.¹

Dr Brown appears to have established himself as a physician in Manchester soon after the death of Dr Deacon, and the suggestion that he succeeded to what remained of Deacon's practice is not

¹ This dedication appears to justify, in part at least, the tradition persistently held by Dr Deacon's successors that Dr Brown was related to the house of Annandale. See Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 31. Rev. R. Parkinson, Broughton, Manchester, to Rev. H. H. Norris, 13th March 1838. "Dr Bryom's granddaughter is still living. She says that Dr Brown was generally understood to be the brother of the Earl (*sic*) of Annandale, and that his real name was Johnston." Charlotte Van Lore, Marchioness-Dowager of Annandale and daughter and heiress of John Vanden Bampde of Hackness, married Lieut. Col. Johnston of Westerhall, N.B., and left issue Richard his heir and Charles, who are evidently the "noble pair" of brothers in the dedication. It is to be noted that Philip Brown makes no claim to relationship, legitimate or illegitimate, with the Annandales, and that the name of Johnston was never used by him. The only instance of such use is to be found in the inscription on Brown's tombstone, which formerly existed in St Mary's Churchyard, Manchester.

improbable. Little is known of his clerical career, but he probably received deacons' and priests' orders from Bishop Price, and he was certainly consecrated to the episcopate by the same bishop, who destined him for his successor. Dr Brown, however, died some ten or eleven years before Price, who was then compelled to turn his thoughts towards the second character who has a particular connection with the period of the subject now under review.

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, the son of an exciseman, was born at Leek, Staffordshire, in 1730, and was bound an apprentice to one Dodd, an apothecary in Shrewsbury, and in 1759 was acting as "a journeyman" to an apothecary in London¹. In the year 1758 he received deacons' and priests' orders from Bishop Kenrick Price². He married Sarah Sophia, daughter of Thomas Deacon, by whom he had four daughters and one son, who bore the ill-fated name of Thomas Theodorus and died at the age of 20³. Cartwright remained in London till 1769, when he returned to his native county of Shropshire and practised for thirty years as apothecary in Shrewsbury.

The few letters which throw light on the correspondence between the disaffected presbyters in Scotland and the "Manchesterians" may now be more intelligibly read. Extracts are given below from five letters of Lyon to Bishop Alexander.

27th August 1757.

[After a reference to a conversation with the Rev. Thomas Bedford, Lyon continues] I did ask him some questions about Manchester; he told me that the Bishop there, for ought he knew, is a decent circumspect man, a grocer (or shopkeeper) by trade, which he still follows with a very fair character; that Dr Brown practises as a physician, but he did not pretend to be personally acquainted with either of them, nor could he be positive whether Dr Brown is Priest or only Deacon; or whether they had two congregations or only one; but that they had not above 70 communicants (*i.e.* old and young) adhering to them and that they would never unite with any who did not come up to the standard Dr D. has prescribed.

¹ *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, 27th August 1879, 16th June 1911.

² See Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 82. Cartwright to the Bishop of Carlisle, 3rd June 1789.

³ *Ibid.* "It pleased God to deprive me of a very learned and pious and hopeful son in the 20th year of his age."

14th September 1758.

Of Dr D.'s successors I know not a history nor what numbers of souls adhere to that line; but I know that Mr Pierce and some others in town have left them long ago and were received by G(ordon). I also know that Mr C(artwrig)ht has been...with a gentlewoman who would have no more to do or say with him.

Lyon concludes this letter with a strongly worded admonition against any association with the "Manchesterians" until they had made up their quarrel with G(ordon).

17th February 1759.

I have heard of the same Mr C—t here; he is in the order of Deacon (*sic*), and is very zealously affected. I expected David Lyon had been more douse and cannot but think that both James White and he might have satisfied themselves with what has been printed by and about these gentlemen without entering into Epistolary Correspondence; but poor souls like you and me can't enter into the views of great minds.

21st July 1759.

I can't write you at any length, yet can't but say that I think the two brethren W. & L. have taken too much upon them...there is a Mr Cartwright in the order of deacon, who serves journeyman to an apothecary and has a few (five or six) that converse with him on Sunday. I know nothing certainly of him or them. But you and I know that the bishops then in Scotland approved of the agreement made here by Brett, Smith etc.; exhorted A. Campbell to accede to it and dehorted him from adventuring on solitary consecrations, which yet he did. It may be good and ought to be well considered whether his proceeding was really schismatical. I humbly think it in no way prudent to be stirring up these embers at present and am very confident that Gordon will not open or alter the Agreement as it now stands...For myself I wash my hands of it altogether.

13th October 1759.

I humbly think to tell him that Scotland would not meddle in Manchester affairs till they had made up matters with their nearer neighbours was the (perhaps only) proper answer to be given to Mr C—t, unless Scotland should resolve to unite with Manchester and throw over Gordon. I know not when nor how this correspondence was begun, whether the Manchesterians applied first to Scotland or if the zeal of J. W., D. L., etc., made the first application to Manchester. I should think it a proper subject of enquiry and must think it odd enough that (the Remnant here having once split into three parts and Scotland stood with one of

the three) there should now be any tampering from Scotland in any part to the neglect of that One to which the preceding and present bishops had so fully adhered. You see these men have but one Term of communion to which all others must accede, or continue strangers or aliens...the said Mr Cartwright called here¹ some days ago, told a footman a gentleman whom I had never seen begged to speak one word with me. I went to him...he told me his name was Cartwright, that he was known to Mr Falconar, had been seeking for a copy of St James' Liturgy, but could find none. Falconar had told him I had one and he would be highly obliged if I would lend it to him for some weeks. I was surprised with his address; however, I went upstairs and brought him a copy and parted without desiring him to sit down. I have not seen Mr Falconar since, nor had opportunity to speak with Bishop Gordon, but for my own part I am determined to have no meddlings with those men whom I cannot consider as over wise. I believe I have a copy of that paper wrote by Craighall, but shall not part with it into Mr C—t's hands before I have talked to Bishop G., and indeed, I wish you had not put him upon a scent of it for I hold it quite needless to expect that they will abate one ace of what their apostle has left with them.

There are in existence copies of two letters belonging to a correspondence between Bishop Alexander and Bishop Brown of Manchester. These letters are of great interest and importance, both as showing that Lyon's strong prejudice against the "Manchesterians" was not entirely shared by his episcopal correspondent and also as containing information of unquestionable authority concerning the little church now under the guidance of Kenrick Price.

BISHOP BROWN *at Manchester* to BISHOP ALEXANDER,
18th February 1762

R. R. S.

When I received your affecting letter I was labouring under a violent disorder of my lungs and side, which I was afraid would have terminated in a consumption, or I should have acknowledged it much sooner. I thank you, I am greatly mended and hope the Spring and Summer will perfectly establish my health. Whatever I felt for myself, I assure you it seemed light when I reflected on what you had so long and were still likely to endure. I wish it was in my power to give you comfort equal to your sufferings, but

¹ This letter was written from Lady Cotton's house in Upper Grosvenor Street.

that I cannot, nor would it become my youth to offer it to that Venerable Age...I am sorry to hear that your sufferings are increased by unruly men of your own body...I remember to have heard of the disposition of these men when I was at Edinburgh and I often suspected they were spirited up by some in England who were enemies to the restoring of some points which I believe the Scottish Bishops would gladly have established and which if done would have been an excellent preservative against the defection to the intruders that is now so common. I formerly mentioned this opinion to some of your clergy, adding that the difference in worship between them and the intruders was so small that I apprehended the dread of schism would not be a sufficient bond of union to so luke-warm an age. I wish the Liturgy of St James as drawn up by Bishop Rattray was established among you, or that their Reverences the Bishops would determine upon some other form equally Primitive and Apostolic. The differences then between the intruders and you would be too glaring to be mistaken or overlooked...as to our Church I suppose you are no stranger to her principles and practices which you may see in our collection of Devotions and Catechism that are in everybody's hand. These we follow in every point and perform every Office as there directed, regulating our discipline according to the Canons of the Universal Church. We have only two bishops with some other clergy, a Church at London and one at Manchester and a distant prospect of another in Shropshire, if it would please God to send forth more labourers into His harvest. As to the Non-Jurors at London or elsewhere in England, we have had no connection with them for these thirty years. Political and other motives induced them at first to oppose us and to this day the horrid doctrine of Intention supplies some with ease and composure under essential wants, and others are very indifferent about everything but their Erastian notions. So that I despair of any good from this quarter, but I wish some method could be established betwixt your Reverences to promote a strict union between you and us....

Your most affectionate brother and servant,

✠ P. BROWN.

The copy of Bishop Alexander's reply to this letter does not appear to be dated. Alexander laments the situation of the Church both in Scotland and Manchester:

What you observe of our revolting and mutinous brethren is very just and they surely deserve the highest censures, but the people that adhere to them are worthy of compassion, and for their sakes we are as yet loath to cut them off. 'Tis true they were too

much encouraged at the first by Bishop Smith at Durham, but he lived to see his error and withdrew his patronage in the end; as for Bishop Gordon he has always acted a very brotherly part to us and rejected their applications to him with indignation and disdain. Bishop Deacon's Offices and Catechism are well known and much esteemed by most of our Clergy, but we dare not venture to make any alterations in our Offices while the Seditious Junto exists. Popery and Usages are the most popular clamours they use to run us down with, and as we have the desired alterations in the Scottish Communion Office, as now generally practised among us, it would be rash if not ruinous to furnish our enemies with so specious a handle as they would not fail to make of our offering to bring in *Lit. Jac.* at present.

The information contained in these seven letters is indefinite and scanty, but it is sufficient to throw light on a portion of the story which has been hitherto almost entirely unknown. There may be deduced from the various statements which were made by the several writers in this correspondence three conclusions concerning the communions of Non-Jurors as they existed towards the end of the reign of George II. There were made about the year 1757 proposals for the re-union of the communions of Bishops Gordon and Price which had no fulfilment. Correspondence was held by the Bishops of Scotland and the rebellious presbyters with both of the separated bodies in England, and finally it may be noted that the Scottish Church, as represented by Bishop Alexander, did not by any means adopt towards the "Manchesterians" the attitude of Robert Lyon, who repeatedly refused to have any dealings whatever with the successors of Dr Deacon.

The death of Lyon in 1761 brought to an end the particular source of information which is to be found in his letters sent into his native country, but the gap is filled by the records of the activities of a more distinguished member of the Non-Jurant Church in Scotland. ROBERT FORBES (1708-1775), who held a life-long charge in Leith, was consecrated Bishop of Ross and Caithness on the 24th June 1764, by Bishops Falconar, Alexander and Gerard.

The name of Bishop Forbes is intimately associated with the edition of the Scottish Communion Office of 1764 which was regarded as the *Textus Receptus* until the revision of 1911. Forbes is also justly regarded as a capable historian, and in this respect he

presents a figure which proves attractive to those who have to unravel the tangled skein of the Non-Jurors' history in the early years of the reign of George III. The correspondence between Forbes and Gordon, and the record of Forbes' Episcopal Visitations and in particular of his journey to London in 1764, are of the greatest importance for a clear conception of the state of affairs in London during the last twenty years of the Episcopate of Robert Gordon¹. The correspondence between Forbes and Gordon reveals the fact that both bishops were incorrigible Jacobites. The failure of the rising of 1745 and the subsequent career of Prince Charles Edward do not appear, however incredible it may seem to those who look back upon this period, to have diminished by one iota the devotion to the cause of the Stuarts which was in a literal sense a real part of the religion of these two prelates. It is noteworthy that information concerning this late period is almost entirely due to the correspondence of two men who used the same language of loyalty and devotion to the exiled family which was current at the commencement of the movement nearly 80 years previously.

Bishop Forbes fell into difficulties with the British Government soon after his consecration, and on the 22nd September 1764, he was "advised" to go to London for a time, in terms which could not be misunderstood. The diary of this journey is full of information of Bishop Gordon and his surviving presbyters and of some of the scattered congregations of Non-Jurors which were visited *en route*. From a note made by Forbes on September 24th, it appears that the congregation in Newcastle was still in existence and was now under the charge of the Rev. John Mansfield. Forbes had visited this congregation so recently as July 11th, when he had administered confirmation at the particular desire of Bishop Gordon. On the following day a halt was made at Burnhall, where Forbes and his wife dined with the widow of George Smith. An unknown and unnamed "Non-Jurant Clergyman" appears to have been attached to the household of Mrs Smith, but was away from home on this occasion. London was reached on Michaelmas Day, and the travellers found that a lodging had been found for them in the house

¹ Many MSS. in the College Papers form the references for this section. Forbes' Diary is found in f. 8, pp. 878 *et seq.* The information is available in printed form in *Lyon in Mourning* (Scottish History Society), Nos. 20 to 23, also *Journals and Episcopal Visitations of Bishop Robert Forbes*, edited and compiled by the Rev. J. B. Craven, London, 1886.

of the Rev. John Falconar in Bedford Street¹. On Monday, 8th October, Forbes called upon a presbyter named the Rev. John Conacher, whose adventurous career would certainly have commended him to both the English and Scottish bishops. John Conacher had formerly been a presbyter at Gartmore in the diocese of Dunblane. He was a most enthusiastic Jacobite and was present at the Battle of Prestonpans 19th September 1745, which was 70 miles from the scene of his ministrations. After the battle he immediately set out on foot and arrived in time on Sunday to announce the victory to his flock at the ordinary hour of Divine Service². During the next ten years Conacher was frequently in difficulties with the civil power, and on 10th April 1755 he was sentenced to perpetual banishment from Scotland for the "crime of celebrating marriages in a Clandestine and Inorderly way, without being authorised by the Church of Scotland³." His arrival in London is recorded in a letter of Robert Forbes to Bishop Alexander dated 28th November 1755: "There is no fear of Mr Conacher. I hope in God he will be well cared for, as Bishop Gordon is truly fond of him." In 1769 Bishop Gordon told Bishop Forbes that Mr Conacher was still alive. Forbes mentions taking tea with the Rev. John Lindsay, who must by this time have been the only surviving presbyter who had adhered to Bishop Blackburne, and also describes an evening spent with William Cartwright who was at this time a presbyter in London under the jurisdiction of Bishop Price⁴.

During this visit to London, Bishop Forbes received from his colleague a gift, which he greatly valued, in the form of a staff which was previously the property of Bishop Hickey⁵. The most interesting references in the diary are concerned with the details of Divine Service as conducted by Bishop Gordon. *E.g.* on Sunday, 7th

¹ This presbyter is mentioned in a letter from Cartwright to the Rev. Dr Thomas Bray Chandler, 30th August 1784. C. had been personally acquainted with Falconar, who was brother to William Falconar, Primus of Scotland. Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 35.

² *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.* p. 131.

⁴ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 155, n.

⁵ The staff is now in a small museum at the Bishop's House in Aberdeen. It is of ebony with ivory knobs round it and an old faded silk tassel. It could hardly be described as a "pastoral staff." The transference of this relic to Scotland may be taken to illustrate by way of parable the way in which many documents which are mainly of English concern found their way to Scotland.

October, Forbes "performed Matins and Vespers for Mr G. and was at the same Altar with him when only about thirty persons communicated...Bishop Gordon always has public prayers on Saturdays." Under the date of 17th October 1764, Bishop Forbes gives the following account of Gordon's use in the celebration of the Eucharist and other Offices:

And here it is proper to observe that all the time I was in London I never heard any clergyman use the words Militant etc. and I heard both Bishop Gordon and Mr Conacher read prayers. Yea, remarkable it is, that the former made considerable alterations in reading the prayers, particularly in the Litany he used the one word "direct" for "keep," and made this great addition, "all sick and distressed persons, particularly such as may be suffering in the Cause of Truth and Righteousness and those that either need or desire the charity of our prayers," or words to that purpose and then added "Exiles" to "prisoners and captives." Then in performing the Altar Service he not only omitted "Militant here on earth" but likewise he made a long pause in the same prayer after these words "departed this life etc." during which he and his people with eyes and hands lifted up unto heaven were commemorating mentally such of the faithful departed as they should judge most proper at the time. And in the prayer of Consecration he also made a long pause after these words "Hear us O Merciful Father, etc." in order to introduce mentally the Invocation of the Holy Spirit of God upon the Elements of Bread and Wine. Immediately after the Consecration prayer he used the Oblatory prayer¹.

It is evident that by this time Bishop Gordon did not think it necessary to observe all the conditions of the Agreement of 1732. All the bishops who had signed the Instrument had now passed away and the general conditions had wholly changed. The close association which Gordon had formed with Bishop Forbes would doubtless influence him in the direction of assimilating the English Office to that which was in this year, in some sense at least, established as the recognized form across the border. Bishop Forbes remained in London for three weeks and arrived at Leith on 25th October 1764. On his return journey he made a halt on the 20th October at Nottingham and was met by Mr Heneage Parker, a

¹ Forbes proceeds to ridicule the campaign which was being waged by William Harper and his party in Edinburgh in favour of an exact observance of the English Book.

leading member of the small company of Non-Jurors in that town, "who were accustomed to attend the sacred offices of Mr Bedford when he came to Nottingham." Mrs Parker and two other persons were confirmed, and seven people in all were communicated by Bishop Forbes¹.

Thomas Wagstaffe died of an apoplexy on the 3rd December 1770 at Rome. Although he had been absent from his native country for nearly forty years, there is evidence that he kept up a regular correspondence with his old friends, and Gordon must have felt that he now remained the solitary representative of the Non-Jurors of the second generation. Wagstaffe was the last survivor of the band of brilliant liturgical scholars who were responsible for the issue of the New Communion Office of 1718. His learning, particularly in the realm of Liturgiology, was unsurpassed; his character was cast in a fine and generous mould. There is no trace of fanaticism in the various works for which he was responsible at the time of the controversy of 1717, in which respect indeed he stands in contrast with some whose learning was admirable, but whose temper was impracticable and narrow. The reasons which moved him to adhere to the party of Collier are not fully known, but the choice involved some family dissensions, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter. He followed Brett in his scheme of conciliation which ended in the union of 1732, but he showed no enthusiasm about the matter, and certainly found it much more difficult to account for the change in his opinions than was the case with Bishop Brett, who was prepared, if the course of events had demanded it, to abandon the Usages even without any declaration from the other side². Of Wagstaffe's later career in the discharge of his extraordinary duties as Anglican Chaplain to two Roman Catholic Princes of the House of Stuart, little is known³. The degree of respect which his character and learning inspired among the members of the Court of Rome has been sufficiently emphasized by previous writers, but the following anecdote, which

¹ Heneage Parker was one of the witnesses to the last Will of Bishop Gordon.

² Brett MSS., vol. xix, f. 375. Thomas Brett to John Pierce, 14th September 1738. "We ought not to have revolted....It is not for subjects to amend such constitutions or compositions as are established by lawful authority."

³ See Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 1204, a reference to Wagstaffe as "Protestant Chaplain of James VIII at Rome." He performed the burial office at the grave of Sir James Macdonald of Skye, who died and was interred in the city of Rome.

was given by Thomas Bowdler in the form of a letter to his younger son, may be read with interest, apart from the question of the credibility of the statement made therein:

The same person, who was a clergyman of our Church, was invited to dine at Monte Porzio with Father Sheldon, Rector of the English College of Jesuits there, in company with Father Inglesfield, a Franciscan friar, and several others. Father Sheldon before dinner desired the English clergyman to say Grace, which he did. This is a remarkable story but I can assure Bishop Forbes it is true¹.

By his Will, dated 29th November 1759², Wagstaffe, who is described as now residing in Rome, left £50 to Mr Robert Gordon with

all the plate he has of mine in his hands together with all my MSS, as a small acknowledgement for his great friendship and many good offices. My printed books excepting such as my executor shall take for his own use or present to any other person or persons, for which he has hereby my full consent, I would have sold and the money arising from such sale together with all the rest of my goods, moneys and estate, not disposed of above, I give and bequeath to my nephew Thomas Wagstaffe; but whereas there are among my books in England some which are not my single and peculiar property but belong to the public of our friends and brethren and of which there is a written catalogue in a volume among the same books, I leave all these books belonging to the public and mentioned in the said catalogue to Mr Robert Gordon above mentioned and desire him to take care that they be put to the use for which they are intended³.

There was some expectation that the post of Chaplain to the Court of Charles III was to be filled by the appointment of a certain William Smith, who is described as a nephew of the late Bishop Smith and therefore of Bishop Gordon by marriage⁴. The facts, as they are shown in the pedigree of the family of Smith given in Surtees' *History of Durham*, vol. IV, pt. I, p. 98, do not indicate that this presbyter was a very near relation of the Smiths of Burnhall. It is possible that he may have been the son of a cousin of the

¹ College Papers (Forbes A), f. 107. Thomas Bowdler to his son Thomas, student in Physic at Edinburgh.

² P.C.C. Reg. 139 Trevor, proved with Codicil, 19th March 1771.

³ The question of the final disposition of these documents is discussed in Appendix III.

⁴ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 195.

bishop and was certainly regarded with favour by Bishop Gordon. William Smith was ordained deacon on the 24th June 1761 at Alloa by Bishop Alexander¹: "And on the 25th May 1763 (Wednesday in Whitsunday Ember Week) he was raised to the priesthood by the same bishop" to serve a congregation in England at the desire of Bishop Gordon there². There is no evidence in favour of the statement that Smith left England to take up the chaplaincy in Rome on the death of Thomas Wagstaffe. On the contrary, Bishop Gordon in his Will bequeathed the sum of £200 for the benefit of William Smith of Battle Bridge in the county of Middlesex, Clerk. Smith may therefore be regarded as the last addition to the small and fast diminishing body of clergy who assisted Bishop Gordon in the latest period of his life.

The connection between the adherents of Bishop Gordon and the Episcopal Church of Scotland became increasingly intimate as the years went on. Thomas Bowdler who had for some years been settled in his residence at Ashley, near Bath, had become the principal layman among the Non-Jurors. The help which he rendered to the distressed remnant in Scotland receives many illustrations in the pages of the *Lyon in Mourning* and the *Diaries of Bishop Forbes*³. Mr Bowdler's house was open to many visitors from Scotland. It was his custom to keep a resident chaplain, and a special record which was made by Bishop Forbes apparently about the year 1770 contains some interesting references:

Mr Bowdler supports a Non-Juring clergyman in Bath for worship in his own family, who partake of the Holy Communion every Sunday and Holy Day; he gives the clergyman £50 a year... the present is the Rev. George Redford, who was diaconated at Leith 7th August, the tenth Sunday after Trinity 1768 and sent up to London at the particular desire of Bishop Robert Gordon, who advanced him priest for Mr Bowdler's family⁴.

Thomas Bowdler had two sons, John, born 1746, and Thomas, born 1754. The elder of the two sons had entered upon the legal

¹ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 194.

² *Ibid.* p. 204.

³ See Bishop Forbes' *Journal* (J. B. Craven), p. 243, 2nd September 1762, which contains reference to a gift from Thomas Bowdler. Many similar passages may be found.

⁴ This reference is interesting as one of the very few statements which show the exercise of the Episcopal Office made by Robert Gordon. A former chaplain to Mr Bowdler was the Rev. George Cheyne of Stirling, who appears to have been in residence at Ashley from 1758 to 1763 or thereabouts.

profession in the year 1765. The younger, who in his later life immortalized the family name by his famous edition of Shakespeare, had entered upon his training for the medical profession in the year 1770 at the University of St Andrew's and afterwards at Edinburgh. Many letters passed between Forbes, Gordon and Bowdler in which the names of these two members of the rising generation were frequently mentioned. In the early seventies there arose a considerable difference of conviction and outlook which bound together the three friends in common opposition to one who bore an honoured and revered name and whose proposals for the policy to be adopted in the case of certain inevitable events were regarded as evidence of worldliness and instability by thoroughgoing Jacobites of the school of Forbes and Gordon. In the year 1770, the Rev. Nicholas Brett had written two pamphlets which were entitled *Considerations on the Present State of the Non-Juring Church and what steps it may be proper for the members of it to pursue in case there is a failure in the succession of Bishops*¹.

In the course of these pamphlets Mr Brett referred to "a certain event," about which some doubt appears to have been expressed, but may certainly be taken to refer to the decease of Robert Gordon. The object was to indicate what should then be the policy of the remnant of the Non-Jurors. The form of the argument bears a curious resemblance to that of Dodwell's *Case in View*. The pamphlet opens with a long and valuable account of the early history of the Non-Jurors and the continuation of the succession in 1713. Mr Brett defends the course then taken by Bishop Hicke, and it is not easy for the modern reader to perceive how the writer can reconcile his condemnation of Dodwell in 1710 with his own proposals in 1770 which really amounted to an unconditional return to the Church on the death of the last surviving bishop. Mr Brett seemed to rely very greatly upon a canon which was made "about the year 1605" and is taken, according to Mr Brett, from Bishop Overall's Convocation Book:

If any man shall affirm that, when any new forms of Government begun by rebellion are afterwards thoroughly settled, the authority in them is not of God and that any who live within the territories

¹ These pamphlets appear to have been re-written in a fuller form in 1773. A copy is preserved in the College Papers. It does not seem to have been printed.

of such new government are not bound to be subject to God's authority which is there asserted, but may rebel against the same, he doth greatly err¹.

The long period of settled government which England had now enjoyed appeared to Mr Brett to have altered the general condition of things since the controversies associated with the name of Mr Dodwell in 1710. Many other points were raised in the course of the argument, which may be summarized as follows: Brett urged that submission to the Church must be made without any conditions. "How can we being only three or four priests and a very small laity ever think of insisting upon terms with a whole College of bishops and demanding an acknowledgement from them." A strong protest was made against the Church itself being held responsible for the opinions expressed by some of its members. With regard to the particular question of Erastianism, Mr Brett quotes from a letter of his father written to Thomas Deacon on 8th August 1724:

I do confess that if you consult history you will find that many of the greatest divines of the Church of England have been Erastian and yet I do think that Church is not to be condemned as such and that a man may subscribe to the Articles and Homilies, nay and take the oath of Supremacy without deserving to be charged with Erastianism.

Finally, with regard to the question of Orders, Brett thinks that for the sake of the sacred cause of unity the few presbyters who might survive should return to the Church as lay-communicants in order that questions of great delicacy may not be raised. Mr Brett submits that there are only two alternatives; either to keep up separate meetings without a bishop, or to place themselves under the care of the Scottish bishops, who would in that case be interfering in the affairs of another province.

The two pamphlets of Mr Brett were delivered to Bishop Forbes on the 7th September 1770 by Mr Bowdler, who was then taking his son Thomas to St Andrew's to begin his medical training. Bishop Forbes made a brief commentary on the matter, as follows:

The present Established Church appears to be degenerating from worse to worse being sunk deep into Erastianism, resolving all

¹ Nicholas Brett states that the discovery of this canon by Dr Sherlock greatly influenced him in his return to the Church.

into a State religion. An Act of Parliament is deemed the foundation of the Church and is by too many looked upon so much as the Charter...that the Charter of Jesus Christ is in danger of being forgotten...the late Archbishop of York declared himself to be a good presbyterian when in Scotland, and a sound Episcopalian when in England...were it not for the efforts of some of the inferior clergy, it is to be dreaded that good principles would soon be banished from them¹.

The standpoint which Forbes adopted in this memorandum was undoubtedly the strongest which it was possible to take. It was the fear of being united with an Erastian Church which had kept open the breach during the weary years which had followed on the death of the original "deprived Fathers."

On Mr Bowdler's return from St Andrew's, Bishop Forbes showed him what he had written, and made some important proposals by way of counterblast to the suggestions of Mr Brett. After some strong remarks on the condition of the Church of England, with the exception of men like Horne, and Jones of Nayland, Forbes suggested that

the faithful few in England might in the event of Bishop Gordon's death join themselves to Dr Deacon's congregations...that Dr D.'s Catechism was an incomparable performance being in my humble opinion the best system of divinity which has ever yet appeared and that Podmore's *Apology* etc. was an admirable treatise.

To all this Mr Bowdler frankly assented, but then added he hoped he could hit upon a better expedient still, which was that Bishop Gordon might be prevailed upon to adopt the Rev. Mr Nicholas Brett as his brother in full character, and for that end either to send him down to Scotland to be consecrated by three bishops or to invite two bishops from Scotland to come into England to join with himself in consecrating Mr Brett, as the only proper person among the Non-Jurors for that purpose. Bishop Forbes cordially approved of this suggestion. As a matter of fact it was never carried into effect. Little is recorded of the negotiations which may have been in process during the next few years. It is probable that pressure was put upon Mr Brett to modify his proposals and even to accept a place in the Episcopate as suggested by Mr Bowdler. It is quite clear that Mr Brett was not prepared to listen to any of

¹ College Papers, f. A, p. 49, etc.

these proposals, and in the year 1773 he wrote a fuller treatise embodying his former views and suggesting that his opponents might at any rate attempt to answer his arguments. Mr Bowdler himself made a written reply to the *Considerations*. It is possible that he was not quite the equal of Nicholas Brett in point of ability and education, and so far as can be deduced from the short summary of the pamphlet which is preserved it does not appear that any answer was made on the scale of Mr Brett's learned treatise¹. Mr Bowdler ridiculed the theory that those who were now schismatics were to be regarded as Catholics upon the death of Bishop Gordon. It was further pointed out that the scheme for uniting the remnant "to our neighbours" was already in course of preparation. The important information is supplied in a footnote that the pamphlet was written for "John Bowdler's sake." It is evident to anyone who reads between the lines of the correspondence of this date that the three friends were very much concerned lest the influence which Mr Brett had naturally acquired over John Bowdler should lead the young man to adopt his views on this particular question, and there is not wanting evidence that the conduct of John Bowdler himself lent some colour to the idea. In a letter addressed to Bishop Forbes, 8th August 1774, Bishop Gordon strikes an unusual note of irritation: "Jack Bowdler between you and me is a conceited, obstinate young man and won't bear to hear what he ought from his father concerning Mr Brett's conduct²."

The letters which passed between Forbes and Gordon in the year 1774 contained many laments over the "apostacy" of Mr Brett. A few of these are quoted:

GORDON to FORBES, 19th May 1774

Mr Brett, with his family, (in case of the said event) as Mr Dodwell did, seems resolved to go to the publick and has mustered up all the old battered, refuted arguments to apologise for his so doing, and presumes to tell the remnant what they ought to do³.

FORBES to GORDON, 28th May 1774

The intended tergiversation of Mr Brett is no new thing to me...might you not have called him a money-making body⁴.

¹ College Papers, f. A, p. 240.

³ *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, p. 305.

² *Ibid.* p. 229.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 307.

GORDON to FORBES, 13th June 1774

Alas, poor Mr Brett! I shall leave a declaration behind me declaring my utter dislike of his MS. as containing matter contrary to the doctrine and principles of the Catholic Church and the deprived Church of England in particular. I purpose seeing him face to face before this month be at an end; for I go down, God willing, to do an office for his children, who at present have no concern in a certain affair, and may God of His gracious goodness turn aside the present intentions of a father consulting the interest of a loose and profligate world more than his own or their everlasting well-being¹.

FORBES to GORDON, 12th August 1774

Ah, for N.B. and his obstinacy! I am sorry for Jack Bowdler, whose father's remarks are worth gold, from which it appears that N.B. varnishes over matters if not smothers the truth².

FORBES to GORDON, 13th August 1774

Bishop Forbes reports a conversation which he had with the Primus as to the fate of the remnant in England. "To be sure we must take care of them," were the words which Bishop Falconar employed in this conversation³.

The protest of Bishop Gordon which is referred to in the correspondence quoted above was duly made, and bears the date of the 6th August 1774.

Having read a MS. wrote by the Rev. Mr Nicholas Brett of Spring Grove, bearing the title of *Considerations* etc....I think it highly proper to declare my utter dislike of the said MS....as containing matters in my judgment contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church and to the Orthodox divines and confessors of the deprived Church of England in particular. And this declaration I am induced to make hoping it may prevent any mischief being done among the faithful...Witness my hand this sixth day of August 1774.

R. GORDON⁴.

Bishop Gordon duly paid his visit to Spring Grove, and on the 11th October he wrote to Bishop Forbes an account which may be summarized as follows: He had much conversation with Mr Brett but could get nothing out of him. Gordon spoke with pleasure of Mr Brett's three children, to whom he had administered confirmation on this occasion. Rebecca, Nicholas Brett's little

¹ *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, p. 310.

³ *Ibid.* p. 320.

² *Ibid.* p. 320.

⁴ College Papers, f. A, p. 261.

daughter, who was "a pleasing young creature of about 11 years," had evidently won the old bishop's heart¹.

Mr Bowdler continued to impress upon his episcopal friends the necessity for the taking of some definite action. On the 22nd April 1775 he addressed a letter to Bishop Forbes, in which he expressed his desire that Bishop Gordon would consent to continue the succession, but he would not listen to the proposal. "The next best step is to get a declaration from the Scottish bishops²."

In the meantime, Nicholas Brett was seized with a serious illness from which he never recovered³. He died on the 20th August 1776, and was laid to rest with his father amidst extraordinary tokens of respect. The blinds of every house were drawn as the funeral procession passed through Wye. The following inscription is engraved on the same tombstone which bears the name of his father:

NICHOLAS BRETT, Clerk, born 11th April 1713
died 20th August 1776.

A man universally esteemed.

Nicholas Brett was a worthy son of a distinguished father. His qualities of mind and heart marked him as fitted for a wide sphere of usefulness. His actual manner of life, spent as it was under the narrowing influences of the separated little communion into which he had been born, presents one of the most striking of many instances of the loss sustained by the Church in the separation from her service of men who were so clearly fitted for the work of uplifting their fellows.

The problem confronting the survivors was not removed by the death of the author of the *Considerations*. The plan which had been agreed upon by Gordon and Bowdler was now advanced a step further by a formal application made by Bishop Gordon to the Scottish bishops, particulars of which are now quoted:

To the Rt Rev. the Primus and his Colleagues the Bishops of the Church of Scotland.

Considering the precarious and uncertain tenure of man's life and in particular mine own infirmities in an advanced age, which the Royal Psalmist tells us is but labour and sorrow, I cannot help

¹ *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, p. 333.

² College Papers, f. A, p. 265.

³ *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, p. 371. Gordon to Forbes, 21st September 1775, in reference to the fact that Nicholas Brett had had a stroke.

being full of solicitude and anxiety to provide for the spiritual comfort and security of the poor orphans of the ante-revolution Church of England, whom I shall leave behind. It is therefore my earnest desire and request to your Paternities that you would vouchsafe to take the poor minished remnant under the wings of your paternal protection, receiving them into full communion as sound members of the Catholic Church, by such synodical acts as to your Paternities in your wisdom shall seem meet; wherein, Rt Rev. Brethren, you will afford the highest satisfaction and comfort to your affectionate brother and devoted servant in Christ...

ROBERT GORDOUN.

The above is dated 6th March 1777 London, and was addressed to the Rt Rev. Bishop Petrie¹.

A copy of the written request was sent to each of the bishops of Scotland to which they unanimously returned the following answer.

Edinburgh, 17th April 1777.

Rt Rev. Sir and our very dear Colleague and Brother.

By your letter to us the present bishops of the Church of Scotland, we are very sensible of that unrelenting care and solicitude which ever since your advancement to the Episcopal Office you have uniformly expressed for the peace, purity, and edification of the orthodox members of that Church over which you have presided with so much honour and integrity; and that still in the decline of life and the infirmities of old age, the same laudable zeal and paternal love and affection prompt you to provide for the comfort and security of the poor orphans of the ante-revolution Church of England, even after your translation to the state of endless felicity; from these motives, so highly to be applauded, it is your earnest desire and request that we would take the remanent members of the ante-revolution Church of England who may be left behind you under our paternal protection, receiving them into full communion with us as sound members of the Catholic Church. As upon a former occasion all the bishops of our Church emitted a formal and solemn declaration of their being in full communion with our Sister Church of England so we renew by this our present epistle the Deed of our then Rt Rev. Brethren; and we hereby declare (upon every proper occasion) our willingness to take under our care and tuition and to receive into full communion with us in all the holy offices of Christian communion and fellowship as members of Christ's Mystical Body, all those who are in full communion with you; and we promise that they shall be entitled

¹ From the Register of the Bishops of the Scottish Church, ff. 27, 28, 29 and 30.

to the same privileges in the participation in the holy mysteries and all other means of grace dispensed by the Bishops and Ministers of our Church equally with those under our pastoral care in this ancient Kingdom. In testimony whereof, We, the Bishops of the Church of Scotland, subscribe this our Act and Deed, ordering the same to be entered along with your letter to us, and duly recorded in our Synodical Register *ad futuram rei memoriam*. We humbly pray that Almighty God would yet be graciously pleased to look down upon the desolations of his sanctuary and that We, who have the charge and trust of the suffering remains of the British Churches, may make it our main concern to be followers of our worthy Fathers and Brethren gone before us, who through faith and patience inherit the promises. We have the honour to be, Rt Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate Brethren and most obedient
servants in Christ,

Sic Subs. { WILL. FALCONAR, Bishop of Edinburgh,
ROBERT KILGOUR, Bishop of Aberdeen,
CHARLES ROSE, Bishop of Dunkeld,
ARTHUR PETRIE, Bishop Co-adjutor.

Directed to the Rt Rev. Father in God,
Bishop Robert Gordon, London.

There is further appended a note by Bishop Petrie, the Clerk to the Synod:

The Rt Rev. Bishop Gordon of London, the only surviving bishop of the ante-revolution Church of England that maintained communion with the bishops of the Church of Scotland, having sent a holograph letter to each of the said bishops conceived in the same terms as the preceding one directed to Bishop Petrie, they unanimously wrote a joint answer of which the preceding is a true copy attested by Arthur Petrie, Clerk.

Robert Gordon died at his house, 51, Theobald's Road, London, on 19th November 1779¹. He was, as is well known, attended on his deathbed by John Bowdler, who expressed his admiration for the deceased prelate in the following words:

Never was I witness to such piety, resignation, benevolence and true politeness. He was a truly primitive bishop, a tender husband, a warm friend and a fine gentleman; and so pleasing in his manner

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1779.

and unexceptional in his conduct that in spite of the inconveniences and insults to which his character and the times exposed him, he lived unmolested and respected by all who knew him¹.

Bishop Gordon was interred in Nelson's Burying Ground and his funeral was marked by some expressions of public respect. In his last Will, dated 14th November 1779², he appointed as his executors, John Bowdler of the Inner Temple and Charles Edward Lewis of Harpur Street in the county of Middlesex. Certain sums were to be invested for the benefit of Margaret Soulby, Gordon's sister, and others. Provision was made for a yearly sum to be paid for the benefit of the poor of the parish of Wolsingham in the county of Durham, and £300 was to be applied to the purpose of lending to young, industrious tradesmen to enable them to carry on their business. Some bequests were made to persons who have had a place in the present story; £200 to William Smith, Clerk; £20 per annum to the Rev. John Mansfield of Newcastle and a similar sum to the Rev. George Innes of Aberdeen³. It may be noticed that there is no direct reference in the Will to important documents, but in the letter of Innes which is quoted below, the writer remarks:

Sorry am I that your son was not sole executor, but hope he will keep sight of certain letters especially which it would be improper for any other person to see...Yet I hope Mr Lewis must be a worthy man otherwise I think Mr G. would not have put such trust in him.

On the death of Gordon, the Remnant in London, according to the agreement made with the Scottish bishops, became an extra-diocesan congregation of the Scottish Church. It will be convenient before recording the last few details of the story of this congregation to return to the consideration of the other communion

¹ *Memoir of John Bowdler*, p. 70.

² P.C.C. 456, Warburton.

³ John Bowdler had married in 1778 Harrietta, daughter of John Hanbury, Vice-Consul of the English Factory at Hamburg. George Innes, Bishop of Brechin in 1777, wrote as follows to Mr Thomas Bowdler. "Your son's attention to him though exceeding great does not at all surprise me and his Lady's manner of writing to you (which I sincerely admire) quite confirms the character our dearest friend gave of her." Mr Bowdler had evidently cautioned Innes that it was not impossible that Bishop Gordon had over-estimated the amount of his estate.

which was still under the rule of Bishop Price. The last reference to the congregation of this communion which existed in London appears in the form of a notice of the death of Mary, the wife of Henry Hieronymus Deacon, on 3rd June 1769. She was "commemorated" in "the Primitive Catholic Church" in London on Sunday, June 11th 1769¹. The "distant prospect of another Church in Shrewsbury," mentioned by Bishop Brown in his letter to Bishop Alexander in 1762, had become an actual fact in the year 1769, when William Cartwright removed from London to Shrewsbury and established a congregation which lasted for some thirty years. Cartwright resided in Mardol and later in the Abbey Foregate. He was accustomed to conduct worship in his own house, and appears to have been well known and respected in the town. He was assisted in his labours by Thomas Podmore, who came from Manchester at a date which is not known, but was probably before 1766, in which year reference is made to him in an account given of William Cartwright, by the Rev. W. G. Rowlands of St Mary's, Shrewsbury². Podmore became Master of Millington's Hospital, and on his death in 1785 he was buried at the end of the terrace in what was to be regarded as consecrated ground, as being part of the burial ground of a former religious house. The inscription which preserves Podmore's memory was renewed in 1898 and is perfectly legible³.

Bishop Brown died in Manchester on the 17th of June 1779 and was buried in St Mary's Churchyard, Manchester⁴.

No trace can be discovered of Dr Brown's Will. There is no doubt of its existence, as it is referred to by Bishop Price in the course of his own Will. It appears that Dr Brown had made some provision for the benefit of his poorer co-religionists.

¹ From family papers of the Deacon family communicated by Mr J. D. Deacon to Mr Edward Deacon of Connecticut and by the latter to the present writer.

² See Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 1.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 158.

⁴ Dr Brown was an enthusiastic botanist. A short memoir in the *D.N.B.* refers to a pamphlet on "rare plants" written by him. According to a statement in the *Manchester Mercury*, 22nd June 1779, Dr Brown's death was occasioned by his "indulging his passion for gardening." He had been to see a friend's collection of plants and had sat "too long by the stove." The doctor had himself a curious collection of rare plants in his garden near the Infirmary in Piccadilly, Manchester, which were sold by auction after his death.

Kenrick Price was now once more the sole remaining bishop of his communion, and on the 4th November 1781 he consecrated to the Episcopal office William Cartwright of Shrewsbury¹. It has been stated, but without confirmation, that Price travelled from Manchester to Shrewsbury for this purpose, but unfortunately all records of consecrations performed in this communion have disappeared.

The position of the "fast sinking remnant" of the Non-Jurors after the death of Bishop Gordon can now be shortly stated. The section which had descended from Archibald Campbell possessed a bishop at Manchester and a second at Shrewsbury; the care of the scattered remains of the congregation of Bishop Gordon had been assumed by the bishops of the Scottish Church.

Great events were now about to occur in Scotland. The consecration of John Skinner (1744-1816) as coadjutor bishop of Aberdeen on the 25th September 1782, was an event of the greatest importance. The words of his biographer, Dr Walker, form a sufficient summary of the influence exercised by this prelate:

Mr Skinner's appointment, though only as co-adjutor, was an era in the Church's history. He was by far the ablest man in the college, he had youth and vigour, and was in touch with the age. His influence was soon felt throughout the whole church. What Macaulay says of the magical effect of the advent to power of the first William Pitt, is true in its measure of the first Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen. From the hour of his appointment "the pressure of his firm hand was felt in every department²."

The story of the life of this prelate and of the consecration of Dr Samuel Seabury on 14th November 1784, lie for the most part beyond the province of this book. It should, however, be pointed out that Bishop Skinner had, from the first, in view certain clearly defined aims which were connected with (1) the abandonment of Jacobitism by the Scottish Church, (2) the establishment of friendly relations and ultimately full intercommunion with the bishops of the Church of England, and (3) the repeal of the penal laws which prevented any free and natural growth of the Episcopal Church and threatened her very existence. It will be seen that these three aims were closely connected, and from the point of

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 82.

² *The Life and Times of John Skinner*, by William Walker of Monymusk (Aberdeen 1887).

view of the present story, it may be said that it inevitably became a part of the policy of Bishop Skinner to refuse to give any support to the small remnant of the English Non-Jurors in London. The evidence which is now available¹ points to the fact that the influence of Bishop Skinner was constantly thrown into the scale against all proposals which were made to send help to London from Scotland during the years immediately succeeding the death of Bishop Gordon. Skinner's three colleagues, Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus, Rose of Dunkeld, and Petrie of Moray and Ross, and nephew of the late Bishop Alexander, were not entirely in agreement with him, and it is probable that Thomas Bowdler (who died in 1785²) pressed upon the bishops the necessity for sending help of some kind to London. Bishop Petrie in particular desired to perform a practical act of sympathy to the desolate congregation. He knew so well what the Scottish Non-Jurors had done for the English Non-Jurors in the past. He had at this time in his possession original Letters of Consecration, among which he instanced the consecrations of 1713 at which Bishops Campbell and Gadderar had assisted and of 1725 in which Bishop Doughty had been consecrated by four Scottish bishops. "If you and Bishop Rose," Petrie wrote to the Primus, "persist in thinking yourselves not at liberty to say to them 'we hope to be able to send you a bishop' yet I hope ye will not think there can be any hurt in saying that 'We wish to send them a bishop and will use our best endeavours for that purpose³.'" As a matter of fact, however, it was impossible

¹ The writer is greatly indebted to selections made by the Very Rev. G. T. S. Farquhar, M.A., Dean of St Andrews, from certain MSS. formerly in the possession of the late Principal Leslie. These extracts throw a considerable light on the very latest fortunes of the congregation of the regular line in London.

² See *Bath Chronicle*, 5th May 1785 (Thursday): "Monday last (*i.e.* the 2nd) died at his house in Alfred Street in this city, Thomas Bowdler, Esq."; also *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1785, p. 403: "May 2. At his house in Bath, Thomas Bowdler, Esq., at Ashley, co. Somerset." The conclusion may be drawn from the above note that Mr Bowdler had a house in Bath and a country house at Ashley which may perhaps be identified with the estate and hamlet now known as Ashley Manor and situated in North Wilts four-and-a-half miles from Bath.

The question of a congregation of Non-Jurors in Bath is obscure. There may have been a separate place of worship, but there is no evidence of it. All the references point to a provision which Mr Bowdler made for many years for the private worship of his own household. There are no Non-Juror traditions existing in Bath.

³ *The Life and Times of John Skinner*, p. 28.

for the bishops to send help of any kind, as the following correspondence will show:

BISHOP KILGOUR *to* BISHOP PETRIE, 11th February 1784

I am sorry to tell you that I see matters in London reduced to such a pass, that though we could I think it would be highly imprudent to send a bishop there. The poor remnant have told us that no clergyman who comes there must depend upon them for a living; they must look out for that some other way. What a figure must a Bishop make in such a situation? It is indeed my opinion that they would not receive him. It is evident at the '13, the '25 and even some time after, in all their proceedings they had still an eye to a state of restoration in all their elections and consecrations, whether in Scotland or England, to keep up such a succession as, if that should happen, Church matters might return to and run in their old channel. But things and prospects are now so altered, that what was done then can be no precedent to us. Indeed for us to send a bishop to London, an utter stranger, and where the people have declared they cannot give a living to an ordinary clergyman would in my opinion serve no other end but to expose him and the Character. All therefore that I can approve of or consent to your writing is that after the maturest deliberation we find we cannot provide them in either a Bishop or a Presbyter. I would have no hand in sending Mr Brown and how unaccountable, how blameable would it be in me to part with Mr Jolly, when I have often found it so hard to get hands, and find it so difficult at present to supply the vacancies in my own immediate charge.

Mr Brown's name appears in several of the letters which deal with this question. It is probable that he had also some correspondence with the Manchester people, for on the 13th April 1784 he wrote to Bishop Petrie expressing his willingness to go to London, and mentioned "the terms of coalition with the Manchester people," which he desired might take place, and which were, of course, the outward expression of the four points concerning which the dispute had begun in 1716. There is preserved in the "College Papers" a copy of a letter without date which was addressed to this same Mr Brown at Montrose by the Rev. John Mansfield who was still, in the year 1784, in charge of the congregation at Newcastle. The letter appears to have been written in connection with this proposal for a coalition, and it will be noted that Mr Mansfield maintained an attitude of determined opposition

against any proposals to communicate with Bishops Price and Cartwright:

I am sorry that you mention the Manchester people so often as I have given you my sentiments upon that subject more than once. Bishop G. received several of that church to communion on the terms which were agreed on at the coalition¹, and would it become us to go from that plan which he adopted and to depart from his practice? But that I am not willing to acquiesce in, but choose to proceed in the way which our superiors marked out to us. Why so earnest now about what they seemed so indifferent in Bishop G.'s time? Do they now think as that gentleman is no more that they can come in on their own terms, and if the Church allows them to act as presbyters let them esteem it an indulgence as she has a right to receive them as laymen and not acknowledge any clerical character. And if they consulted their own reputation would they wish for more? Would they not be pleased if a veil was drawn over their consecration and if it was buried in oblivion? If ever the time of Union should come with the public church, would it not be shameful to plead a succession of bishops which runs through such muddy streams, which was derived from so polluted a fountain? Let them be satisfied in such terms and not think it any disparagement to be under the wing of the Church of Scotland, and I must plainly tell you that I don't wish to have such superiors as they have discovered, such fickle and changeable tempers and besides they are destitute of qualifications requisite for such a character. And if they once came into power and were acknowledged as bishops, it is hard to say whither their impetuosity would carry them. I have no occasion to repeat the shameful, the unparalleled transaction as you are not ignorant it was attended with such circumstances as never reached the ears of the Church, and would you have our Church to be disgraced with it? Would you have it thus singled out for reproach and infamy for doing what was never done before. What a stain you would fix on our Church! A Church which has maintained the doctrine of the Cross and adhered to exploded truths amidst the tumult of the times and in all paroxysms of faction and rebellion. And what a song of triumph would you put into the mouths of the Romanists! What artillery would you furnish them with against our succession! Might not there be another Nag's Head affair and might it not be attended with fatal consequences against the Church?

¹ Apparently this refers to the Concordate of 1732. The Mr Brown of this correspondence may certainly be identified with the Rev. James Brown of Montrose who was consecrated in 1788 by Bishop Rose (*solus*) in the vain hope of continuing a Non-Juring succession.

It is evident that John Mansfield took a deep interest in the welfare of the London congregation which had evidently been left without a pastor of any kind. On the 9th February 1784 he had written to Bishop Petrie stating that he "had been in London and given the faithful remnant an opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion which they have been so long deprived of." The difficulties in supplying the needs of these people were, however, increased by their unwillingness to accept any pastor whose Jacobitism was not of the straitest kind. In a letter written by Bishop Rose to Bishop Petrie on the 30th March 1784 reference is made to the fact that a certain Mr Taylor, a presbyter in the Stormont district, offered to go to London and supply service for some months, but Mr James Lundin (of Old Gravel Lane, Wapping) apparently a leading member of the congregation, had objected to Mr Taylor on account of his friendship with Dr Abernethy Drummond, whose Jacobitism was supposed to be cooling down. In the end, Mr Mansfield decided to go to London himself. He communicated his resolve to Bishop Petrie on the 27th September 1784. As there was no prospect of getting any support from Scotland, Mansfield had determined to break up the congregation in Newcastle and offered to Bishop Petrie a paten, a large chalice and a basin which had been used in the chapel in that town. He was about to proceed to London to take up the work there and attributed the difficulty in sending any other supply to the influence of Bishop Skinner.

The consecration of Samuel Seabury in 1784 was an event of the first importance for the future of the Anglican Communion. So far as the English Church was concerned, it marked the end of the stiff and unyielding Erastianism which had formed an impenetrable barrier to the extension of the Episcopate to the colonies. The little Scottish Church from which the consecration was derived became known to a number of English people who had never before heard of its existence. One particular result was to make its fortunes an object of life-long interest to men of the type of John Bowdler, William Stevens, John Allan Parks, and others, who did not rest until the Episcopal Church of Scotland had been set free from the penal laws and was able to take a free and independent stand among the Churches of the Anglican Communion. So far as this story is concerned, it may be noted that the event proved a justification of

Bishop Skinner's policy in refusing to attempt to sustain the sinking remnant¹.

Previous writers have recorded the fact that during the negotiations which led up to the consecration of Bishop Seabury, Jonathan Boucher inquired of Bishop Price whether Dr Seabury could be consecrated by any Non-Juring bishop², but there are two letters written by Cartwright to Boucher in this connection, the one on the 30th August 1784 and the other on the 23rd April 1785, from which some extracts are here given. Bishop Cartwright maintained a belief not only in the validity of his own consecration but also in the schismatical position of all other bishops, which may from the modern point of view be regarded as amazing. He referred to the old Non-Juring party, or those of Sancroft's succession, as having ceased to exist after the death of Bishop Gordon. In his opinion there now remained in England only two catholic bishops, Mr Price and himself³. Cartwright expressed great grief at the refusal of the Scottish bishops in general and Bishop Skinner in particular, to have anything to do with them. He ascribed this shyness on the part of the northern bishops to "the paucity, obscurity and worldly poverty" of his own small communion. He entered into a spirited defence of the validity of his own consecration, although effected by a single bishop:

This I admit to be an objection to mere regularity according to the Letter of the Ancient Canons; but which can by no means be deemed an invalidity for though these Canons require two or three bishops to the ordination and consecration of a bishop, yet by the Apostolical Constitutions (Lib. VIII, cap. 27) and by the examples of Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata in Syria, Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, and Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, under certain circumstances, such as we have been under, a bishop may be consecrated with unquestionable validity by one bishop alone. And who can doubt but that Bishop Seabury is now vested with sufficient authority to consecrate a bishop for every State in America should he be called upon to do so.

¹ The following quotation from a letter written by John Mansfield, at 51 Theobalds Road, London, 7th April 1786, will show that Bishop Seabury adopted this same policy to the Remnant. "Bishop Seabury when in London would not come near the chapel."

² Overton's *Non-Jurors*, pp. 369-71.

³ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 1.

To Boucher's kindly expressed hope that "you should come into our pale," Cartwright made answer:

however few in number we may be and however obscurely our taper may burn we cannot think of relinquishing our union and communion with the Primitive Catholic Church of the purest ages and incorporating ourselves with those who have betrayed and deserted the Church through the caprices of princes and sectaries and for the emoluments of secular establishments.

Boucher had written *utinam nostri essetis*, but Cartwright replied, "pardon me if I say *Tales cum simus, utinam vestra, etiam Universa Ecclesia esset*, which leaves no room for comment unless it be that the influence of Thomas Deacon upon his successors was a long time in expending itself. In the course of this letter Cartwright mentions the fact that the original instruments of the consecrations of Roger Laurence and Thomas Deacon in 1733 were at that time in his custody¹.

The death of "Prince Charlie" on 30th January 1788 sounded the death-knell of Scottish Jacobitism. In the same year an appeal was addressed to the lay members of the diocese of Edinburgh to consider the question of acknowledging the Hanoverians. The authorship of the tract is not known, and the arguments may be stated as follows: The sacrifices made by the Church on behalf of the Stuarts were recounted, but it was pointed out that the present head of the house, Prince Henry, as a Cardinal, was "a Pope's man"; the King of Sardinia had voluntarily renounced his claims, and therefore no course was open for the Church, unless Episcopacy was to disappear entirely from Scotland, but to acknowledge King George. A further curious argument was that the Pope had allowed Romanists to pray for King George, and that as Prince Henry had issued no protest he must therefore be considered to have acquiesced in this decision². The sentiments of this anonymous appeal, which was shared by many members of the Scottish Church, found expression in a resolution of the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen, which was adopted on the 9th April 1788, and on the 24th August of the same year the Episcopal Synod met at Aberdeen and resolved "to give an open and public proof of their submission to the present Government; and to pray in express words for King

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 37.

² *Three Bishops of Dunkeld* (W), pp. 69-71.

George and his family on and after the 25th May next following," which was duly done, notwithstanding the distress of "many a groaning worshipper¹." The bishops duly conveyed the particulars of this decision to the two presbyters who remained of the communion of the late Bishop Gordon.

The Synod thought it proper to intimate their compliance with the present Government to the Rev. Messrs Mansfield at London and Redford at Bath, and appoint Bishop Strachan as clerk to make this information in the name of the Synod, that these clergy may take the matter into the serious consideration and follow the example which the Scottish bishops have now written on the best grounds and agreeably to the purest principles².

As then the Scottish bishops ceased to be Non-Jurors, any mission in England which might technically be under their jurisdiction lost any *raison d'être* for separate existence, and here it is that the story of the Later Non-Jurors, so far as the regular line is concerned, comes to a natural end.

There now remains to be told the brief story of the irregular succession from Bishop Campbell. Bishop Kenrick Price died in September 1790 and was buried at Overton, Flintshire, as has previously been related. There are certain bequests made in his last Will which are interesting in themselves and which throw light on the personality of some of the members of the very latest period of the communion of Dr Deacon³. Edward Erastus Deacon, James Bowker Booth and Thomas Sharp, junior, appeared in person before the Surrogate on the 5th December 1792 and testified that the document was in the handwriting of the late Kenrick Price⁴. Bishop Price made, among others, the following bequests:

I desire Mr Cartwright of Shrewsbury may have the furniture of my own chapel; I mean the Altars, vestment, linen and branch

¹ *Three Bishops of Dunkeld* (W), pp. 73, 74.

² *Register of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 92. See *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1798, p. 728, "3rd August died the Rev. Mr Reidford many years a dissenting minister at Bath." This is probably the record of the death of the last chaplain of Thomas Bowdler. No further evidence exists of the later story of John Mansfield.

³ The original Will of Kenrick Price is preserved in the Registry at Chester. It is dated 7th December 1778 with a Codicil of 13th February 1780. It was proved on 17th December 1792.

⁴ Edward Erastus Deacon, M.D., the ninth son of Thomas Deacon, practised as a Physician in Manchester for many years and is buried with his father in St Ann's Churchyard. James Bowker Booth was a watchmaker in Manchester and brother to the last Bishop of the line.

and everything which properly belongs to it and may be found in the Altars. Beside I bequeath to him a (consecration) seal in silver; the motto *pax et amor*. To Henry Booth I bequeath a picture of a crucifix which hangs up in my chapel. I bequeath to the aforesaid Mr William Cartwright all the plate, books and furniture of the public chapel; also all my claim to and interest in the late Dr Brown's effects...I do expect a compliance with the Doctor's Will and therefore desire Mr Podmore, if he is living, may reap some advantage and have his share etc.

A correspondence which passed between Bishop Cartwright and Dr Douglas, the Bishop of Carlisle, and later of Salisbury, has not been noticed by previous writers. It appears to have been begun about the time of the death of Bishop Price and is made known in a letter from Cartwright to Boucher dated 9th April 1794:

When the Scotch Bishops were in London soliciting their first Appeal Bill, I was surprised with a message and afterwards with a letter from his Lordship, Dr Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle (later Sarum) and as he said by desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting from me all information I could give him respecting myself and Mr Price and the remains of the succession from Bishop Sancroft, and encouraging me to answer with the utmost freedom. To this letter I answered without the least reserve showing that we did not derive from Sancroft but from the Scottish Episcopacy, and that we had no connection with the English succession at all, and that our difference with the Establishment was not, nor had been, of a long time on any political ground, and that we were loyal to the civil state and constitution upon Christian principles. Yea, even upon those principles which are now so generally exploded...to my answer his Lordship replied in a very polite manner, thinking that the subjects for which we refused communion with the Establishment were not of sufficient importance though at the same time he confessed them to be truly primitive (I will add Catholic and Apostolic) and very desirable¹.

Two letters of Cartwright by way of reply to the Bishop of Carlisle have been preserved, both of them written in June 1789. Cartwright informed Dr Douglas of the loss of his only son and of the date of his own consecration. He also stated that Campbell consecrated Roger Laurence without referring to any consecration

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 41.

of Deacon at the same time. In a letter to Boucher (30th August 1784), Cartwright had stated that Deacon was consecrated by Bishops Campbell and Laurence. The inference may fairly be drawn in favour of the statement made by Mr A. P. Perceval in his account of Non-Juring consecrations that Campbell first consecrated Laurence and that the two then proceeded to consecrate Deacon¹.

This correspondence is a rare if not the only instance of an attempt made by the Prelates of the Church of England to understand the position of those who for one hundred years had challenged their authority as rightful bishops of the Church and Realm of England.

The care of the Church in Manchester now devolved upon Bishop Cartwright, and the same letter to Boucher, which has been already quoted, supplies a sufficiently full account of the action which he took:

In December 1790, I ordained a deacon (with reference to Mr Price's congregation in Manchester) to whom I committed the congregation as far as his office extended until June 1791 when I ordained the same person presbyter and whose conduct and behaviour in all respects is very satisfactory to me and to the people and though he be not a man of literary attainments and if it please God I live, and no more learned or in other respects equally well qualified person presents, I purpose to consecrate him Bishop, unless Bishop Skinner can prove I am no bishop myself.

A further letter written to Boucher on the 24th August 1795 carries the matter a stage further:

I purpose, God Willing, to perpetuate the Episcopal Order upon the principle and in the manner I received it and hope to consecrate a worthy though not very learned man to the Office next Lord's Day, for which purpose I go to Manchester this week².

The person referred to in these letters was Thomas Garnett, the last bishop but one of the succession. He is a very shadowy figure, but there is to be related one piece of information concerning what may be described as the last instance of propaganda work on the part of those who, for want of a better title, must still be described

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, ff. 35, 82, 89.

² *Ibid.* f. 74.

as Non-Jurors. The information is contained in a letter written by Mr F. Holmes of Shrewsbury to the Rev. H. H. Norris on the 11th January 1837:

In 1798 Mr Garnett distributed among the clergy of the Collegiate Church of Manchester copies of their (Non-Jurors) Litany and Prayers. The names of the clergy to whom distribution was made are given as follows:

Rev. Dr Bailey,	Rector of St James.
Rev. John Gatcliff,	Fellow of the Collegiate Church.
Rev. Joshua Brookes,	Chaplain of the Collegiate Church.
Rev. John Clowes,	Rector of St John's.
Rev. C. P. Middleton,	Rector of St Mary's.

Garnett made a report to Bishop Cartwright as follows:

The clergy mentioned above all approve of the forms but say they cannot introduce them into their respective churches without the consent of all the bishops¹.

The death of Bishop Cartwright on the 14th October 1799 deprived the Remnant of the only person whose learning and personal character could command any attention from the outside world. Valuable information is obtained from records made by the Rev. W. G. Rowlands (in 1837 and for many years of the Royal Peculiar St Mary's, Shrewsbury) and preserved among the papers of Mr Norris. Mr Rowlands states that Cartwright's congregation having passed away he, at Cartwright's own desire, administered to him the Holy Sacrament shortly before his death. The inscription on the lonely grave in the extreme south-west corner of the burial ground of St Giles, Shrewsbury, has been renewed in recent years and may easily be read. In his last Will, dated 18th August 1798, but not proved until 26th February 1803, that is, after the death of Mrs Cartwright², Cartwright left all his estate and effects to Henry Hieronymus Deacon, of the Oval in the parish of Lambeth, in trust for the benefit of his widow and her daughters. There is no mention of any documents or papers of value³.

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 6.

² P.C.C. 92 Marriott.

³ On 23rd December 1802 Thomas Deacon, of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, and Humphrey Deacon, of Fleet Street, appeared to testify to the genuineness of the Will. Thomas Deacon was probably son of H. H. Deacon, the executor named in the will. Humphrey may have been the sixth son of Bishop Deacon.

The statement that Bishop Garnett consecrated as his successor one Charles Booth is probably correct, but there is no actual record and there is some uncertainty as to the Christian name of the last bishop. Two fragments of information are to be found in Mr Norris' papers. A statement is made by Mr Seddon that "*Thomas* Booth a watchmaker (priest) burnt his books in the street. He lived in Market Street and then in Oldham. Garnett, who was a bishop, sold the vestments and plate at Halifax¹." On the other hand, a letter written in 1837 by Mr Jesse Lee to Mr Parry, Half Street, Manchester, states that Mr Garnett had changed his residence to some part of Yorkshire, and the writer distinctly refers to Bishop Booth, which makes fairly certain the fact that a person of this name had received Episcopal Consecration. With these statements may be compared a remark to be found in Aston's *Manchester Guide* of 1804 (p. 136). A special heading is given among a description of the religious bodies of the town to

the Non-Jurors as they are generally termed, but as they denominate themselves, The True British Catholic Church, which once made a considerable noise in the world but is now nearly extinct....The present bishop is a Mr Thomas Garnett, who it seems does not exercise the Episcopal Office, and the congregation now reduced to about thirty is under the care of Mr C. Booth in Long Millgate, who in his own house performs the functions of a priest.

Some facts are known of the history of the family of Booth. In 1759 George Booth married Mary Bowker, and both husband and wife died in the year 1788. Their eldest son, James Bowker Booth, who appeared before the surrogate in support of the Will of Kenrick Price, was for many years engaged in trade as a watchmaker in Manchester, and his name is to be found in *Raffald's Directory* from 1794 onwards. He died in 1833 at the age of 70. In the letter of Mr Seddon previously quoted, it is stated that Bishop Booth was brother to James Bowker Booth and the name of Charles Booth, watch and clock maker, of 104, Long Millgate, appears in the *Directory* from 1797 to 1804, at which date it disappears. It may reasonably be concluded that this was the last Bishop of the Church in Manchester established by Thomas Deacon in

¹ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 17.

1722¹. There is no further confirmation of the statement made by both Hallam and Macaulay that Charles Booth died in Ireland, but there need be no doubt of the fact that in 1805 the last bishop in succession from Archibald Campbell "dropped unnoticed into the grave" and, at the same time, the last surviving congregation of the Later Non-Jurors vanished away.

In the concluding chapter an attempt will be made to form an estimate of the influence of the Non-Jurors upon the thought of the succeeding age.

¹ Descendants of James Bowker Booth are still resident in Manchester and possess some interesting family traditions, which do not however contain the slightest reference to Charles Booth nor to any connection with the Church of the Non-Jurors at the end of the 18th century.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NON-JURORS ON LATER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT—
JOHN BOWDLER, WILLIAM STEVENS—BISHOP HORNE AND JONES OF
NAYLAND—SIKES OF GUILDSBOROUGH—THE WATSONS AND H. H. NORRIS—
THE EARLY TRACTARIANS—W. J. COPELAND—THE CONNECTION BETWEEN
THE OLD HIGH CHURCH PARTY AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT—SUMMARY

THE later stages of the movement which began at the Revolution in 1688 have now been fully related. The question remains, What were the permanent results? Or, if the word permanent be deemed to be inapplicable to the shifting sands of human thought, there still remains for consideration the question of the influence which was exercised by the Non-Jurors upon the thought of the generation which succeeded them. It is proposed to answer this question in the present chapter, and it may not be unnecessary to emphasize the fact that in these pages the sole concern has been with the results of historical research. It will follow, therefore, that the proposed summary must be conceived and stated in strict harmony with the historical standpoint, which has been adopted throughout the whole of this book. Estimates of political, social and religious movements are frequently made with the purpose of establishing some theory held by the author, or of showing the weakness of some position which the writer regards as dangerous or reactionary. It is not necessary to pronounce judgment upon efforts of this kind, which are frankly and obviously made with the purpose of propagating what the writer believes to be the truth. There is indeed no gain in hiding differences of interpretation under an insincere and superficial profession of general agreement, and it is much better that men of strong convictions should make clear to the world the historical basis on which they believe that such convictions rest. There is, however, much to be said in favour of a survey of movements of human thought and action composed upon a strictly historical plan and which from its very nature precludes the passing of judgment favourable or adverse upon the beliefs and motives of the principal figures of the movement under review. It is now proposed to show some of the results of the strange and obscure movement of the Non-Jurors which may illuminate their influence on the generation which followed

them. Few of the facts which are to be related can be claimed as new, but it is hoped that they are set in a new order and relationship.

It is necessary, first of all, to recall the principles for which the Non-Jurors stood. To the great majority of readers probably the word Non-Jurors connotes that body of bishops, clergy and laity who adhered to the cause of the Stuarts and were strongly opposed to the Hanoverian succession. So far as it goes, this is perfectly correct, but it does not go very far, and it may be noted in passing that personal devotion to the Stuarts was far more widely spread in Scotland than in England. "Bonnie Prince Charlie" did not mean exactly the same to the southerners as to those born on the north side of the border. If the conception of the principles of the Non-Jurors be limited to their belief in the claims of the House of Stuart, the question of any permanent result of the movement would not arise at all. Jacobitism was practically extinct before the organized movement came to an end. Bishops Gordon and Forbes maintained a good show of Jacobite fervour, but even in their days it may be suspected that there was a certain amount of whistling to keep the spirits up.

The point has, however, been sufficiently stressed that political principles were not the most powerful motives of the Non-Jurors. They stood for the belief in the Church as a distinct independent, spiritual society and in accordance with this belief, the Sacraments of the Church were regarded from a standpoint which was very different from that adopted by those who saw in the Church a creature and dependency of the State. An excellent summary of the position adopted by the Non-Jurors is given by the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, in later years Prebendary of St Paul's, who may be described as a "hereditary" Non-Juror and who has some claim to be called the last representative of the movement. It is to be found in his *Memoir* of his father, John Bowdler, of whom some account has been given in the last chapter.

Those with whom the name took its rise (writes Mr Bowdler) lived at one of the most important periods of our history and the questions on which they were called upon to decide were of that difficult and delicate nature which demanded great knowledge of fundamental principles, great accuracy of discrimination and great foresight as to their practical consequences. They had to dis-

tinguish and to establish by their conduct the distinction between the allegiance which was due to the sovereign and the higher authority of Him by whom kings reign.

These cautious and balanced words of Mr Bowdler are a reliable summary of the basis on which the Non-Jurors built their belief in the "Independency of the Church."

A further quotation from the same memoir may illustrate the conception of the Sacraments held by the Non-Jurors and of the contrast between their belief and that commonly held in the first half of the eighteenth century.

There was in the English Church probably some desire to abandon differences of opinion, some leaning towards principles and practices which were dissentient from those of the Church of England, and much loose opinion on such subjects as those of Occasional Conformity, Absolution, Confirmation, and the particular character and authority of the priesthood. The sentiments held by Bishop Hoadly were likely to be prevalent; who scrupled not to designate the regular and uninterrupted succession of ministers, authoritative benedictions, absolutions and excommunications, as no more than vain words, niceties, trifles and dreams.... The difference of opinion which existed between the Non-Jurors and their brethren of the Established Church may be illustrated by the subject of the Holy Eucharist. Among the latter it began to be considered as merely a commemorative ceremony without any particular blessing attached to it.... In the words of the bishop who has lately been mentioned, "it is only a remembrance of Christ without any particular privileges annexed to the partaking worthily; we do not thereby partake of the benefit of remission of our past sins. Such a notion is no better than a dream"...it is not meant that the opinions of Bishop Hoadly prevailed generally among the clergy of that day; but there was probably a leaning towards them which was, in its consequences, highly pernicious. The holy ordinance was less honoured than it had formerly been; its true character was in some degree forgotten.... The attention of the Non-Jurors on the contrary was greatly devoted to this Sacrament; they referred themselves to the practice of the Primitive Church as far as it could be ascertained or more properly perhaps to the three points of antiquity, universality and consent¹.

The question that now demands solution may be thus stated. By what methods was this conception of the Church and Sacraments, the most powerful and enduring sentiment of the Non-

¹ *Memoir of the Life of John Bowdler*, pp. 72 et seq.

Jurors handed down to the next generation, and to what extent may the influence of the Non-Jurors be traced to the period of the beginning of the Oxford Movement? The matter may be regarded under two heads. There is first the personal influence of those who came into the National Communion many years before the disappearance of the separate organization of the Non-Jurors, together with those who, as a matter of course, communicated in the parish churches after the repudiation of Jacobitism by the Scottish Episcopalians. There is no reason to doubt that for many years before the death of Bishop Gordon the younger men among them "wearied of their isolation¹." Many were not prepared to wait for the "certain event" to which Nicholas Brett referred in his pamphlet which so sadly grieved his Jacobite friends and superiors. The stories of Tractarian leaders and their friends who learned their doctrine of the Church from ancestors who had been actual Non-Jurors are a sufficient testimony to the personal influence which was exercised by those who even in the lifetime of Bishop Gordon saw no reason to continue their separation from the English Church. There is a very definite and notable example of the exercise of such influence upon the thought and life of his day in the person of John Bowdler. There is no reason to believe that Bowdler forsook the Non-Jurors' communion before the death of Bishop Gordon, although it is probable that in the dispute between his father and Nicholas Brett he would favour the cause of the latter, however much he might have found it a matter of duty and policy to suppress his opinions. The fact of his attendance on Bishop Gordon in his last illness has been already mentioned. It is not known whether he was one of "very few who continued in separation" after the death of Bishop Gordon during the ten years which elapsed before the acceptance of the claims of the Hanoverians by the Scottish bishops. The account given by his son and biographer is sufficiently clear and explicit:

Mr Bowdler, one of whose leading maxims in life was contained in the word *Moderation*, while he admitted the principles of the Non-Jurors and held their memory in great veneration, was never disposed to follow them to the extent to which some of them carried their principles; he communicated conscientiously with the Established Church and continued through life devoted to its

¹ *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 181.

service; but he retained through life a solemn feeling of regard for the memory of those whom he had loved and honoured; he exercised charity to some poor members of Mr Gordon's congregation and his regard for the Non-Jurors had no small influence in producing the strong interest which he afterwards took on behalf of those who were similarly situated in Scotland.

John Bowdler was able to retire from his professional life on the death of his father in 1785, and devoted the remainder of his life to the service of the Church of which he had now become a whole-hearted adherent. He was one of the founders of the Church Building Society and took an active part in many of the movements of the day. The influence of his early training is shown in the defence which he undertook of Archdeacon Charles Daubeney's *Guide to the Church*, in opposition to Sir R. Hall's *Apology for Brotherly Love*¹.

In his later years Bowdler became in some sense the centre of a group of friends whose story illustrates another and perhaps more powerful method by which the influence of the Non-Jurors was handed on to the new age. The leaders of the movement in their lifetime had held sway over the minds of many who were not to be reckoned as members of the small and narrow communion of Dr Hickes, Mr Collier, Mr Spinckes or Dr Deacon. It has been indicated throughout this book that the Non-Jurors appealed by their writings to a much larger audience than the few devoted spirits who assembled week by week in the little private chapels, and it is necessary to lay fresh emphasis on this point in attempting to estimate the extent to which the movement may be said to have had any result, after it ceased to possess an outward and visible form. There are some whose contribution to the thought of their time has perhaps not been sufficiently estimated, and who, in every case, were debtors to the writings of the Non-Jurors. There may be taken, as the first examples, GEORGE HORNE (1730-1792), President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Bishop of Norwich, and WILLIAM JONES (1726-1800), Vicar of Nayland, with which place his name is always associated. The two men formed an acquaintance at University College, Oxford, and went together through various stages of experience, some of which have a real connection with the subject

¹ Charles Daubeney (1745-1827), Archdeacon of Sarum, may be described as a Churchman of the type of Hickes and Brett.

of this book. George Watson, Fellow of University College, was one of the best exponents of the system which was named after John Hutchinson, a North of England layman, and was the means of arousing in Horne and Jones a real and lively interest in all that concerns religion, far in advance of the ordinary level of the day. Whatever may be thought of the system connected with the name of Hutchinson, it must be admitted that the work by which Horne's memory is preserved, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, shows distinct signs of the teaching of George Watson in so far that the writer abandoned the mechanical interpretation of Scripture which prevailed at that time. For the present purpose, however, there is to be noted the reply, which was in some sense the joint work of the two friends, to an *Essay on Spirit* published in 1750 by Dr Clayton, Bishop of Clogher. The tone of this essay was certainly Arian, and it was designed to prepare the way for suitable alterations in the Liturgy. It was at Horne's request that Jones undertook to answer the bishop. Jones was at that time curate in the parish of Finedon, Northamptonshire, the rector of which, Sir John Dolben, Bart., possessed a library "stocked with oldfashioned divinity." The Essay and the Reply which was published in 1753 are not of any particular interest; they have indeed both perished, but it is of some importance to know what Jones and Horne had discovered in the rector's library. They seem to have begun with the works of Charles Leslie, and to have gone on to those of Hickes, whose writings displayed to them certain aspects of Christian antiquity of which they had had little or no previous knowledge. A few words of comment made by George Horne will illustrate the influence exercised on the two friends by the study of the works of Bishop Hickes:

He shows the greatest knowledge of Primitive antiquity, of Fathers, Councils and the Constitution and Discipline of the Church in the first and purest ages of it. This kind of learning is of much greater value and consequence than many now apprehend. Much I am sure is done by that cementing bond of the Spirit which unites Christians to their Head and to one another and makes them consider themselves as members of the same body, that is as a Church as a fold of sheep, not as straggling individuals. What I see of this in a certain class of writers determines me to look into that affair¹.

¹ *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 195, 196.

A few lines from an *Essay on the Church*, which Jones composed when he was curate of Nayland, will illustrate the point that he had by this time thoroughly assimilated that form of Christian doctrine which is associated with the name of George Hickes and all his successors in the Non-Juror Movement:

I am (writes Jones) a Curate in a country parish, who make it my business and have found it my pleasure to teach the children of my people privately in my own house and publicly in the Church...the Catechism of the Church of England, though a most excellent summary of the Christian Doctrine, is deficient in one point, viz. the constitution of the Church of Christ; the knowledge of which in a certain degree is necessary to that charity which is the *end of the commandment* and for want of which so many are drawn away from the Church who would certainly have remained with it if they had known what it is¹.

With Horne and Jones goes WILLIAM STEVENS (1732-1807), cousin of Bishop Horne and author of a life of Jones of Nayland. Stevens was a layman of a type which was not more common in the eighteenth century than in the present day. In his youth he devoted much of his leisure to the study of Hebrew and Greek in order that he might read the Holy Scripture in the original tongues. He was a diligent student of Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor and Hickes, all of whom he described as "fathers of our Church and masters in the great art of holy living." A brief note by Archdeacon Edward Churton, in his *Life of Joshua Watson*, records:

There was in Stevens a spirit of primitive piety, such as was cherished in the hearts and homes of many sincere and zealous members of the Church of England in the last century and may still be studied in the well worn manuals of private devotion compiled chiefly by the Non-Juring divines of that period².

Stevens became auditor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty. In his later years he was closely connected with John Bowdler in assisting the bishops in Scotland, especially at the time of their application for the removal of the disabilities imposed upon them by the civil power. When the necessary Bill was introduced into Parliament the statement was made that certain men in high places did not know who the Scottish bishops and clergy were, and the Committee of which

¹ *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 198.

² *Life of Joshua Watson*, by Archdeacon E. Churton, vol. I, p. 30.

Stevens was a member, which took charge of the Bill, found it a matter of great difficulty to impart the information to those in whose hands the ultimate decision lay. From the intimate friendship which existed between Stevens and Bowdler and the great and practical interest which the two friends took in the fortunes of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, it has been thought that Stevens was formerly a member of Bishop Gordon's congregation, but no positive proof of this statement can be obtained. Stevens died suddenly in the house of John Bowdler in 1807.

Into the series come the names of two men of whom little has been noted by previous writers, but who were certainly not without influence upon the thought of their own day. Concerning ROBERT HAMILTON, LL.D., who was instituted on the 29th November 1797 to the living of St Olave, Jewry (which benefice he appears to have held till his death in 1833), Dean Church records: "Dr Robert Hamilton had belonged to a Nonconformist family but had taken Orders on the principles of the Non-Jurors as to the doctrine of the Sacraments and Episcopacy and shared strongly their anti-Erastian views¹." Dr Hamilton had a special devotion to the writings of Bishop Hicke. He had a considerable influence over one or two men who have a place in this series, and in this way Hamilton himself may be said to form a link in the connection between the religious thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

THOMAS SIKES (1766-1834) is somewhat better known. He was the son of Thomas Sikes, Banker, of Mansion House Street in the City of London, who had married a sister of Archdeacon Charles Daubeney. By the marriage of his sister to Joshua Watson, Sikes became intimately connected with another group of religious leaders who will form the next series. He matriculated at Oxford from St Edmund Hall, but finding the prevalent Evangelical atmosphere of that society uncongenial, he removed to Pembroke College and took his B.A. degree in 1788. The name of Sikes is always associated with Guilsborough, a small village in Northamptonshire, of which parish he became rector and was regarded as an "advanced" churchman according to the standard of the day. In his emphasis on the need for a revival of teaching concerning the con-

¹ From an article in the *Guardian*, 1st September 1885, on the life of Mr Cope-land.

stitution of the Church, Sikes followed Jones of Nayland, and seems to have had a very clear foresight of the difficulties which would beset those who should lead the revival which he thought to be imminent. He was a great student of Thorndike, Bull and Beveridge, a point which is worth noting in view of the danger of ignoring the influence of the earlier Anglican divines, but for the present purpose Sikes is of interest as being a strong admirer of the Non-Jurors, as a letter written by W. J. Copeland on the 3rd May 1836 witnesses:

Good Dr Hamilton loved the Non-Jurors and excellent Mr Sikes gave me the works of one of the most learned of a deeply learned body, for such they were, They both seemed half to foresee what was coming, both knew well that no other principles are sound but those which they acted on and that none else could carry the church through troublous times and both well knew also that those who should espouse the same cause would not have much thanks for espousing it¹.

After Thomas Sikes comes another group of thinkers and workers who are represented by the names of J. J. WATSON, JOSHUA WATSON and H. H. NORRIS. John Watson, father of the two brothers James and Joshua, was at school with Jonathan Boucher, whose name is closely connected with the consecration of Dr Seabury. Boucher was rector of three charges in Maryland before the American War of Independence and from 1785 to 1804 was vicar of Epsom. John James Watson (1767-1839) became curate to Boucher and afterwards rector of Clapton and Archdeacon of St Albans. Joshua Watson (1771-1853) did not take Holy Orders and if he had lived in the present age, it is possible that he might have been styled an "ecclesiastically-minded" layman. Watson was, as a matter of fact, a layman of a type of which any religious communion might be proud. In 1811, he took an active part in the foundation of the National Society, and in the year 1814, in conjunction with H. H. Norris, was responsible for the new series of the *British Critic*, which had been begun originally in 1793 by Jones of Nayland and others. The house which Joshua Watson had taken in his brother's parish became the headquarters of the "Clapton phalanx," which might be more accurately described as the old High Church

¹ From a letter of W. J. Copeland to his sister, 3rd May 1836, now in the possession of Canon Ollard.

Party who had built up their system of belief not, of course, exclusively but still very largely on the foundation of the teaching of Hickes and other leaders among the Non-Jurors. W. J. Copeland, in an unpublished account of the rise of the Oxford Movement, mentions a letter he received from Joshua Watson in which the writer said that he had picked up the two volumes of Hickes' *Priesthood*, "not accidentally, say rather providentially, for I will be open with you, no other principle than that advocated in that book will carry us through that which is coming¹."

Another name which should be mentioned in close connection with the Watsons is that of H. H. NORRIS (1771-1850), of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and later rector of St John's, Hackney, and prebendary of St Paul's and of Llandaff. Norris was one of the founders of the National Society and a leader of the Clapton phalanx, but it is not perhaps so well known that he was a diligent student of all that concerned the Non-Jurors. A collection of papers relating to the later part of the story which was made by Norris is preserved in the Bodleian Library under the title of Add. MSS. D. 30, and is an invaluable source of information concerning the very latest phase of the movement. The point of view from which Norris regarded the Non-Jurors may be seen from Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson* in which the writer makes a reference to Norris (circ. 1836): "It was also a part of his concern to investigate the decline and fall of the Non-Jurors more especially from his persuasion of its practical bearing upon the controversies of the day²." This opinion of Norris is noteworthy, for it cannot be denied that by many people the story of the Non-Jurors is regarded as of purely antiquarian interest.

Such were some of the leaders of religious thought in the latter half of the eighteenth and in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, beginning with John Bowdler who was brought up in the innermost circle of the Non-Jurors, and going on to men such as Horne, Jones, Stevens, Hamilton, Sikes, the two Watsons and Norris. They were men who were closely connected in life and work, and all of them were influenced to a very considerable extent by the writings of the Non-Jurors. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, this particular aspect of religious belief found in some

¹ From the MSS. of W. J. Copeland now in the possession of Canon Ollard.

² *Life of Joshua Watson* (Churton), vol. II, p. 54.

sense its outward and visible form in the Clapton phalanx which was led by H. H. Norris and the brothers James and Joshua Watson.

Two representatives of another group of thinkers are important. The names of ALEXANDER KNOX (1757-1833) and JOHN JEBB (1775-1833) are always associated with the publication of *The Thirty Years' Correspondence* which passed between the two friends. The conception of the Church and Sacraments held by these men was expressed in terms which would certainly have won the approval of Hickes, Collier and Brett¹. A letter from Knox to his friend, Hannah More, gives an accurate impression of the lines of thought current in the school of which Knox was a true representative:

Sentiment is but as the wing of the soul...but if it has not clear definite principles...what is it to do when its wing is tired?...A remedy is to be looked for and what is that remedy? I think God Himself has given it through Jeremiah. "Ask for the old paths wherein is the good way and walk therein etc." What then with respect to us are the old paths? Not surely those paths which are not yet three centuries old...when fifteen centuries lie behind to be traversed...Trust not to the uncertain sounds of scarce three centuries when you may listen to the concurrent voice of acknowledged wisdom and universal revered piety through all the successive ages of the Catholic Church².

With regard to Bishop John Jebb it must not be forgotten that he had intimate family relationships with the Non-Jurors. Samuel Jebb, who was librarian to Jeremy Collier in his last years and of whom some account has been given in an early chapter, was great-uncle to Bishop Jebb of Limerick³. There are not wanting indications that Bishop Jebb maintained a great interest in the story of the movement of which his great-uncle was a distinguished member. Many illustrations of his point of view might be drawn from *The Thirty Years' Correspondence*; one short extract will suffice:

You complain of protestantism being unsystematic. How can it be otherwise? Some grand principles of interpretation must be

¹ Exaggerated estimates of the influence of Knox and Jebb have been made, notably by the late Professor Stokes in an article in the *Contemporary Review* of August 1887, in which the writer endeavoured to prove that these two men were the originators of the movement which derives its name from the "Tracts for the Times."

² *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 219, 220.

³ Richard Jebb, elder brother of Samuel, the Non-Juror, was father to John, Alderman of Drogheda, of whom Bishop Jebb was the younger son by a second wife.

so authoritatively laid down that they cannot lawfully be controverted, before anything like system can obtain. This would be the very antipode of Chillingworthian private judgment. But private judgment surely is inconsistent with the very notion of a science. How would the astronomer, the mathematician, the chymist laugh at the assertor of private judgment. Would not a person be accounted mad that were to say "the moon is made of green cheese; I maintain it. I have a right to do so; it is my private judgment."... Yet this ridiculous farce is every day enacted in theology and this is protestantism¹.

The name of another religious leader who had an hereditary connection with the Non-Jurors leads to a group of men who were destined to take a leading part in a movement greater in extent than the small organization, the declining fortunes of which have been the subject of these pages. The true founders of the Oxford Movement were Keble, Newman and Pusey. But there were others whose part in the earlier stages was certainly not small, among whom may be mentioned Hugh James Rose, A. P. Perceval and Hurrell Froude. HUGH JAMES ROSE (1795-1838), may be described as a hereditary Non-Juror. His grandfather was a younger son of Alexander Rose of Kilravoch, Bishop of Edinburgh, who was deprived in 1688. Perceval first published a list of the Non-Juror bishops in his *Apostolical Succession*². Any attempt to estimate the movement which was about to assimilate the older parties would here be out of place, but something may be said of the methods by which the various parties were linked together in the movement of 1833.

At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the representatives of the old High Church Party were H. H. Norris and James and Joshua Watson. Jebb and Knox stood for the same

¹ *Thirty Years' Correspondence of Jebb and Knox*, vol. II, p. 136. Jebb to Knox, 7th March 1813.

² In a letter of 12th February 1834, Froude speaks in terms of the highest praise of Law's letters against Hoadly. "I begin to think the Non-Jurors were the last English Divines and that those since are twaddlers" (*Remains of R. H. Froude*, vol. I, p. 355). Again, on the 8th April 1834, "I am becoming a more and more determined admirer of the Non-Jurors" (*ibid.* vol. I, p. 363). Once more, in January 1835, Froude expresses his thoughts concerning the Non-Jurors in a manner which was not common among the Oxford leaders. "About convocation I think you have hit the right nail on the head. The High Church Party had cut the ground from under their feet by acknowledging Tillotson. Would that the Non-Jurors had kept up a succession! And then we might have been at peace, proselytes instead of agitators" (*ibid.* vol. I, p. 393).

principles in Ireland, and in Oxford there was appearing a company of younger men who, following the example of youth in every age, were disposed to think that the world belonged to them alone. How far did these various groups understand one another, and to what extent was there similarity or identity of belief? Certainly there were points of contact. Hugh James Rose, for instance, came into association with Joshua Watson in the matter of the foundation of King's College, London, in 1828, and during the retirement of Bishop Jebb at Wandsworth from 1827 to 1833, Rose became a great friend of the invalided prelate. There are further indications of the devotion of the early Tractarians to the Bishop of Limerick in the "pilgrimage" which was made by Dr Hook to Leamington to see "the apostolic Jebb."

As to the relationship which existed between the staid people in London and the younger men in Oxford, it was natural that the older men should be alarmed at the pace which was being made. There may be discerned some difference between the two parties on the question of the study of the Early Fathers. The older men derived their knowledge through Pearson, Bull and Waterland; the later generation went direct to the fountain-head. As to the isolation of the English Church in Christendom, the old High Church Party deplored the fact; but the rising generation earnestly desired to seek and find some sphere of action. It should not, however, be thought that the older men did not take their fair share in influencing the times in which they lived. It was not a Tractarian who was responsible for ending the practice of printing the service of Holy Communion in small type. The credit for this alteration is to be ascribed to Joshua Watson.

The name of WILLIAM JOHN COPELAND is important to the story because he, more than any other man, was the link between the old and the new party, and in the story of Copeland's life there is to be found the very latest example of the influence of the Non-Jurors. Copeland was born at Chigwell, Essex, in 1804. From St Paul's School he passed to Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1829 and was later elected Fellow. He was ordained deacon in the same year and licensed to the curacy of St Olave's, Jewry. His rector was Dr Robert Hamilton, whose devotion to the works of Hickes and other Non-Juror divines has already been noted. The influence and teaching of Copeland's first

rector made an ineffaceable mark on his mind and, as stated previously in the same connection, Sikes of Guilsborough urged upon the young curate the necessity of studying the principles of Dr Hicke as being those alone on which the Church could be defended. Leaving St Olave's, Copeland became curate of Hackney to Archdeacon James Watson, H. H. Norris being one of his colleagues. In 1832 he returned to Oxford to reside as Fellow of Trinity, and became an intimate friend of John Henry Newman, whom he afterwards served as curate at St Mary's and at Littlemore. Copeland wrote an article on the Non-Jurors in the *British Critic* of January 1837, and this was followed by a further article on Bishop Ken in the succeeding year. In 1843, Newman dedicated to Copeland his *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*. The most difficult task which fell upon Copeland was the charge of Littlemore on the retirement and subsequent secession of Newman. In the words of Dean Church, "the strong and solid Anglican theology with which Copeland became imbued in his early days was his standing ground in the storms of the Oxford Movement and continued to be his unshaken position through life¹." Enough has been said to show that Copeland had intimate relations with the older High Church Party and the Oxford leaders and, as Dean Church remarks in the course of the same article, "he was in truth the link or at least one of the chief links between the teaching of which Mr Norris and Joshua Watson were the representatives, and the new Oxford school." Two quotations from Copeland's letters illustrate his attitude to the Non-Jurors. Writing to a sister on the 3rd May 1836, he remarks:

I am still living amongst my dear friends, the Non-Jurors. We have a sort of Theological Society for which I have once or twice written papers and should be really glad had I not so much to do to prepare some sketch for a history of them. Alas, were you to read their fate so far as this world is concerned, you would think me wild for espousing their cause. But when one thinks of the men who were amongst them who gave up every single prospect in life for conscience sake and for the maintenance of the principles of the Church of England and formed their whole characters on its discipline and primitive and Catholic spirit, it is indeed a relief to contrast men like Archbishop Sancroft and Ken and Kettlewell with the cold and heartless and semi-

¹ From an article by Dean Church in the *Guardian*, 1st September 1885.

infidel conservatism of many of the maintainers of our so called happy establishment¹.

Nevertheless, Copeland was no blind admirer of the Non-Jurors. The following letter written by him on 27th December 1857 to Archdeacon E. Churton, shows that admiration of the Non-Jurors did not imply inability to perceive some of the weak points of the movement as revealed in some of its leaders:

Of the learning properly so called of the Non-Jurors I have more doubt than I ever had. It seems to me that a man can scarcely be called learned when knowledge remains *rudis indigestaque moles*. This certainly was the case with some of them. It is what is called with some significance a great apparatus of learning but scarcely brought to bear with sufficient point on the matter in question. I cannot think the Non-Jurors would have become eventually so narrow had their learning had a broader basis and been more solid in its construction. Barrow, no bad judge, made this remark about Hickes and I have observed the same in the voluminous MSS. of Dr Brett which dear Mr Bowdler gave me when he was dying².

Mention of Mr Bowdler recalls the fact which has been related by Canon Ollard in the introductory portion of this book, that it was Copeland who received the Brett MSS. from the hands of Thomas Bowdler, the last of the Non-Jurors, as he has been sometimes called. THOMAS BOWDLER (1782-1856) deserves mention, and it is perhaps fitting that he should be the last in the long series which has been commemorated in these pages. A graduate of St John's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1803, M.A. 1806), he was rector of Sydenham from 1834-1846. He acted as secretary of the Church Building Society of which his father, John Bowdler, was one of the founders, and in 1849 became Prebendary of St Paul's. The writer of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is in error in stating that Mr Bowdler was opposed to the principles of the Oxford Movement. On the contrary, he maintained his father's principles, and it may be said that hereby hangs a tale. John Bowdler the younger, who was born in 1783, had become intimate with certain members of the Clapham Sect, a fact which greatly grieved his father. A memorandum written by Miss Marianne

¹ From MSS. Letters of W. J. Copeland to Archdeacon E. Churton now in the possession of Canon Ollard.

² From MSS. now in the possession of Miss Inge of Oxford.

Thornton (1797-1887), the very last survivor of the Clapham Sect, throws light on the subject. Referring to John Bowdler the elder, Miss Thornton writes:

He must have been one of the last specimens of a high but not very Jacobite high Churchman. He looked on dissenters as heathen and thought Evangelicals an unchristian set, little better than dissenters. He never missed his week-day prayers or his evening game at cards; was rough and severe with his children and exacted the most passive obedience from them and the deepest respect, but all the time was a most self-denying father; gave them an expensive education which he could hardly afford and would have made any sacrifice for the "lads" as he always called them. His son, John, our friend, grieved him much by his intimacy with such a low Church set as we were, but he lived long enough to lose many of his prejudices and to express the most boundless gratitude to my father and mother for what they had done for him (John); indeed he tried to repay it by his kindness and affection for me after they were gone, but he always tired and alarmed me. "If the rest of your creed had been like your parents, my dear, (he used to say), I could have borne it but they were a very designing body; the fall of the Church was their object and they had no other," and the positive old man would go into a passion if he was contradicted¹.

John Bowdler the younger died as early as 1815, but published a book on very Evangelical lines which won some considerable popularity and was in part reprinted in 1857 under the editorship of his younger brother Charles, with a new title, *The Religion of the Heart, as exemplified in the Life and Writings of John Bowdler*. It will be seen that two sons of John Bowdler developed a line of religious thought which differed to a considerable extent from the traditional belief of the family. It is a probable suggestion that Thomas Bowdler, whose religious standpoint was essentially that of the Non-Jurors, gave his precious collection of Dr Brett's MSS. to W. J. Copeland rather than to any surviving member of his own family who might not feel able to sympathize with the difficulties and disasters in which the Later Non-Jurors had been involved.

Here, then, the present story may fitly end. From the time of

¹ From a memorandum in the handwriting of the late Rt Hon. G. W. E. Russell. It is described as a copy and is now in the possession of Canon Ollard. Miss Thornton is commemorated in Mr Russell's *Household of Faith*, p. 245.

the new consecrations in 1713 to the death of Thomas Bowdler in 1856 there has been related the history of the Non-Jurors to the latest distinct influence of the movement which it is possible to detect.

In conclusion, it may be said that the study of the Non-Jurors is generally regarded as of purely antiquarian interest. It can, however, justly be maintained that it is of very great importance with regard to some pressing questions of the present day. It has been well said that the historian should write of the ages that are passed with his eye on the problems of the present and the future. Possibly the present writer has no claim to be considered more than a mere chronicler of events; in which case the responsibility for taking a truly historical view of this story is transferred to the reader. The same problems which faced the Non-Jurors are with us to-day. The proper adjustment of the relations between Church and State, the reform of the Liturgy and other services of the Church are likely to become very living issues in this generation. Measures such as the recently passed Enabling Act do not really touch the heart of the question. They leave the present relations of Church and State entirely unaltered, and merely provide a method by which the exercise of such relations may be rendered less intolerable. It is idle to think that the Elizabethan Settlement can be made to continue in the new age on which we are entering, and the same remark may certainly be made with regard to the Services of the Church which have remained unaltered since 1662. When the time arrives for the serious consideration of these anachronisms and for a reasoned settlement of the matter it is submitted that the study of the Non-Jurors who dealt with these same problems on a smaller scale will prove to be of considerable value. It is essential if any such historical record is to be of real service that it should be accurate and complete. The previous accounts of the Later Non-Jurors have been of necessity wanting in both these respects. The material which was available to the earlier writers was fragmentary and obscure, but with the wealth of new information which has come into the possession of the present generation, it is hoped that a reasonably complete and coherent story has now been unfolded. There is no finality in literary research, and there still remain one or two gaps in the story, although it may be said that they are not of the first importance.

No attempt has been made in these pages to write a panegyric of the Non-Jurors. If the word sympathetic may be used in relation to the general attitude which has been adopted, it is appropriate only in the sense that it has been attempted to view these questions from the standpoint of the Non-Jurors themselves. Such a sympathetic attitude has not been remarkably prominent in the comments on the Non-Jurors made by writers of the very first rank.

It is undoubtedly true that many people will regard the belief of the Non-Jurors concerning the Church and Sacraments as utterly out of date and fit only to be relegated to the scrap heap along with their political beliefs with which the movement began and with which the name of the Non-Jurors is popularly associated. Others will hold that the position adopted by the Non-Jurors in connection with these matters was essentially and fundamentally sound, but even in this case it may be assumed that it would be a matter of necessity to "restate" (to use a word which is popular at the moment) the beliefs of the Non-Jurors in language suitable for this generation.

Apart from these considerations, however, all may do homage to a group of men who, for the sake of what they believed to be the truth, risked their all—and lost it.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

THE following Biographical List is not to be considered exhaustive even for the purposes of this book. It presents in concise and convenient form biographical details of many of the figures in the later stages of the movement.

BEDFORD, HILKIAH (1663-1724), Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge; m. Alice d. of William Cooper of Scarborough, whose second daughter Mary m. Rev. John Smith and became the mother of George Smith of Burnhall. Bedford may be said to belong chiefly to the earlier part of the story. He wrote a defence of the Non-Jurors' position in 1710 and suffered a term of imprisonment as the supposed writer of *The Hereditary Right of the British Crown etc.*, which work has been attributed to George Harbin. Canon Overton suggests that this imprisonment alone prevented Bedford from being included in the first series of new consecrations. Overton is in error in stating that Bedford took no part in the Usages controversy.

BELL, THOMAS, deprived vicar of Askham (dio. Carlisle), has been overlooked by previous writers. He took an active part in the Usages controversy, being strongly opposed to the party of Collier. He was on terms of close friendship with the widow and family of Thomas Wagstaffe the elder, and it is not improbable that the two families were connected by marriage. This relationship would account for the great devotion manifested by Mrs Wagstaffe to the extreme views held by Bell as a Non-Usager, which has been referred to in the text.

BLACKBURNE, JOHN (1681-1741), son of Thomas, of Charleton, Cheshire; admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge, 29th May 1697; B.A. 1701; M.A. 1705. No record of his ordination exists, and there is evidence that Rawlinson found difficulty in his day in assigning the date and place of the ordination of his colleague. In the year 1715 Blackburne was acting as press corrector to W. Bowyer, the printer. It is known that he refused the Abjuration Oath, and his permanent home was in Little Britain, London. There are indications that he was fairly well off as compared with other Non-Jurors.

BOWDLER, THOMAS (1661-1738), associated with Samuel Pepys at the Admiralty in the reign of James II.

BOWDLER, THOMAS (d. 1785), eldest son of the above, is commonly known as Mr Bowdler of Bath. He married the second daughter of John Cotton, Esq. He had two sons who are connected with this story: JOHN (1746-1823); THOMAS (1754-1825), whose name became a household word in connection with his edition of Shakespeare.

BOWDLER, THOMAS (1782-1856), incumbent of Sydenham and Prebendary of St Paul's, was the eldest son of John Bowdler, the elder of the two brothers mentioned above.

BRETT, THOMAS (1650-1741), son of Thomas, a farmer of Kent; admitted sizar at St John's College, Cambridge, 1st July 1668; B.A. 1671/72; M.A. 1678; ordained deacon London 22nd September 1672,

priest London 12th March 1673/74; rector of Folkington 1678, West Dean 1679, dio. of Chichester. The identity of his name with that of his distinguished colleague of Spring Grove has been the cause of considerable confusion. So far from being "junior" to his famous namesake, he was his senior by no less than seventeen years. Hearne refers to "Mr Brett of Sussex and a Non-Juror and a man of very great probity and integrity¹."

BURDON (*or* BURDEN, as it is sometimes spelt), ROWLAND (1679-1750), of Lincoln College, Oxford; B.A. 1702; a member of an ancient family still established at Castle Eden, county of Durham. He is described in the Brett MSS. as of Sedgfield, and was certainly in Orders, but there is no record of any incumbency held by him. He was "received" by Bishop Spinckes on 29th January 1716/17 and was ordered by that prelate to wait upon Mr Collier as Primus for the confirmation of his orders². His eldest son, of the same names, married Elizabeth daughter of George Smith of Burnhall from which union the present family of Burdon descends.

CARRICK, LEE, described by Brett "as clever a young fellow for a shoemaker as my friend Hart was for a bricklayer," apparently a lay Non-Juror who corresponded with Brett on abstruse points of theology. According to an account inserted by Nicholas Brett in his father's papers, Carrick was son of an officer in the army who gave him a good education until he was fourteen years of age. His mother, on the father's death, was obliged to put him out into the world as a shoemaker. Mr Brett states that he remembers him when he worked at his trade. About the year 1721 or 1722 he was made secretary to the S.P.C.K. and was drowned some years afterwards in the Thames in an endeavour to save the life of a companion³.

CARTE, THOMAS (1686-1754), of University College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, and Reader of the Abbey Church at Bath, was a strong Jacobite of the type of Atterbury, and came over to the communion of Dr Hickes at the same time as Thomas Brett. Campbell wrote to Brett on the 10th June 1715. "We have lately had an accession of another valuable clergyman to our communion, Mr Carte of Bath⁴." Carte assisted Collier in the services of the Chapel in Broad Street, but it will have been noted from certain references in the text that he exercised his influence, such as it was, in a furtive and underground fashion. He left England about the time of Atterbury's banishment and returned in 1728 by favour of Queen Caroline and then began to collect materials for his life of James, Duke of Ormonde, which was published in 1736.

COTTON, JOHN (d. 1752), sixth and last baronet, son of

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. III, p. 323.

² Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 239; vol. X, f. 157.

³ Carrick lived some time in Wye under the protection of the Brett family. See Brett to Campbell, 15th December 1722, College Papers, f. 1, p. 20. "One of his trade is needed here and he will have time for his studies."

⁴ Brett MSS., vol. II, f. 202.

COTTON, ROBERT (1669-1749), fifth baronet. The names of Robert Cotton and his son John are frequently mentioned in the Brett MSS. They were probably original Non-Jurors and may have had some connection with the Jacobite rising of 1715¹. The identity of the family was not known to Canon Overton, who placed them in his list as belonging to Lancashire, with a query attached. The story of the Cottons of Conington, Hunts, is as follows: Conington Castle was the seat of the Earls of Huntingdon of the Royal Family of Scotland, and the Cotton family inherited it by descent from Barnard Bruce, Lord of Conington, in the time of Henry III. Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631) was the founder of the library which was known by the family name. He was succeeded by Thomas Cotton (1594-1662) and John Cotton (1621-1701), the latter of whom was the donor of the library. His successor was his grandson, John Cotton (1679-1731), and the baronetcy then devolved upon the Robert Cotton of our story, who was the second son of the third baronet. At this period the family resided at Stratton, Beds, and Steeple Gidding, Hunts, which latter house was built by the third baronet for the use of his son Robert.

DEACON, THOMAS (1697-1753), ordained deacon in Scroop Court by Mr Collier 12th March 1715/16, and priest by the same bishop seven days later. The action of Collier in conferring Orders on his stepson at the early age of eighteen did not pass unnoticed by his critics and opponents. Deacon is frequently alluded to as a "boy priest."

DOUGHTY, HENRY (1662-1730), educated at Durham School and St John's College, Cambridge, ordained deacon 1687; served for some years the cure of Filingdales near Whitby. On leaving this charge he was presented with a testimonial by the parishioners and a copy of this document is inserted by Rawlinson among the odds and ends of information which appear at the end of the MS. List of Ordinations. Doughty was ordained priest 23rd May 1693 by Dr Lloyd, deprived Bishop of Norwich, in St Leonard's Church, Shoreditch. Hearne refers to this ordination together with that of John Amy ordained 25th May 1694, as proof of the fact that the deprived bishops did not consider themselves entirely cut off from the parish churches².

EARBERRY, MATTHIAS (1688?-1740), "received" by Bishop Hicke 18th November 1715. He had been ordained deacon at Ely 18th March 1711/12 and his Letter of Orders is preserved in the College Papers and bears the superscription of George Hicke on the date mentioned above. The enforcement of the Abjuration Oath in 1715 was the immediate cause of the resignation by Earberry of his living of Neatishead, Norfolk. He is notorious for the violence of language in his numerous writings. His later career was marked by sordid incidents and his death which took place in 1740 "in his rambles at a gentleman's house near York³,"

¹ See Hearne's *Remarks*, vol. xi, p. 8. "Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet, and his son, names well-known at Preston and the Fleet Prison, they having been concerned in the transaction at Preston in the time of George I."

² Hearne's *Remarks*, etc., vol. x, p. 482.

³ Brett MSS., vol. xii, f. 97. There has, however, apparently been some

was the end of a strange life which in some respects corresponded with Dr Johnson's well-known description of a Non-Juror.

GANDY, HENRY (1649-1734), son of John, of Brent, Devon; B.A. 1670; M.A. 1674; Proctor 1683; Fellow of Oriel; ordained deacon 1674, priest 1681; rector of St Leonard's, Exeter, in 1688. He had a considerable share in the later story. So far as the early period is concerned he is perhaps best known as the author of *The Dialogue between Gerontius and Junius*, in which he combated Dodwell's *Case in View now in Fact*, and drew upon himself the displeasure of Thomas Hearne¹.

GRIFFIN, JOHN (1680-1731), son of Richard of Towcester; B.A. Merton College, Oxford, 19th March 1701/02; M.A. 14th February 1708/9; ordained deacon 21st May 1702, priest 11th June 1704, by William Talbot, Bishop of Oxford; vicar of Churchill, curate of Sarsden, near Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire. The register at Sarsden records gifts made to the Church from 1705 to 1708 duly signed by Griffin. Hearne's account is as follows: "Mr Griffin, Minister of Sarsden, who went out M.A. of Merton hath thrown up his living²." Griffin was not actually "received" until 18th March 1719/20, when he was formally admitted by Bishop Brett³.

HALL, HENRY (1672-1731), son of Thomas, Rector of Castle Camps and an original Non-Juror. Henry Hall was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. It is probable that he received orders from a Non-Juror bishop, but no record is preserved. It appears from one of Hearne's gossiping notes that he had spent some time as chaplain in Madrid to the Duke of Ormonde⁴.

HART, EDWARD, a bricklayer, enjoyed the friendship of Thomas Brett in the early days of his connection with the Non-Jurors. In a letter written by Thomas Brett to his son Nicholas, in 1743, information is given respecting this hitherto unknown member of the Non-Jurors' communion. About the year 1716 Hart had published a book against one written by Thomas Delaun, which appears to have been composed from the Nonconformist standpoint. Hart's answer was called *The Bulwark Stormed*, and a preface was contributed by Thomas Brett. In the controversy of 1717 Hart joined the opponents of Collier and was the author of a pamphlet entitled *No Reason to alter the present Liturgy of the Church of England*⁵. While working at Chatham he came into collision with the authorities by endeavouring to make proselytes among the workmen of the dock, and died of the hard usage which he subsequently received⁶.

HOWELL, LAURENCE (1674-1720), ordained priest by Bishop Hicke 2nd October 1712, was tried at Newgate 28th February 1716/17 for printing a seditious pamphlet and received a severe sentence which

confusion of the identity of two persons of the name of Matthias Earberry, father and son. See Venn's *Alumni Cantabr.*

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. III, p. 215. Hearne to Cherry.

² *Ibid.* vol. V, p. 160.

³ Brett MSS., vol. VIII, f. 79.

⁴ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. X, p. 448.

⁵ See List of Pamphlets, p. 64.

⁶ Brett MSS., vol. XIII, f. 323. Thomas Brett to his son, 30th May 1743.

included corporal punishment. This was afterwards remitted, but Howell died in Newgate 19th July 1720.

JEBB, SAMUEL (1694-1772), of Peterhouse, Cambridge, ordained deacon by Mr Collier 25th July 1716, priest 25th January 1717/18. Hearne makes a few comments on various aspects of Jebb's career: e.g. on 7th April 1731, "Jebb is publishing Friar Bacon's Works, encouraged by Dr Mead¹." On 1st July 1731, "Samuel Jebb took M.D. at Rheims. He is in Holy Orders and has publicly worn the habit which he has now thought fit to throw off. There is no reason why he may not practise physick in a gown as the R. Rev. Mr Wagstaffe did for many years from the confusion of 1688²." Jebb appears to have acted as chaplain to the Cotton family or possibly to John Cotton alone, as Sir Robert Cotton and his son ranged themselves on opposite sides of the controversy for a considerable period³.

LAW, WILLIAM (1686-1754), Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1711, and ordained deacon in that year. No information is available of his reception into the Non-Jurors' communion, but he refused the oaths in 1715 and in 1717 published his *Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* and twenty years later, in answer to the same opponent there appeared his famous *Demonstration of the Gross and Fundamental Errors, etc.*, in which he attacked the Bishop's teaching on the Sacrament. On the 27th January 1727/28, Law received Priests' Orders from Henry Gandy. The long delay in proceeding to these orders is commented on by Bishop Smith in a letter to Bishop Gillan 26th June 1733. "Mr Law is not a deacon; it was a work of many years to persuade him to enter into Priests' Orders but he at last submitted to the commands of his superior⁴." It will have been noted that Law succeeded in making himself unpopular with all parties of the Non-Jurors in the various controversies. His developments of thought in the direction of mysticism served further to estrange him from men of the type of George Smith and Robert Gordon, who were quite unable to understand him.

LEAK, JOHN (1648-1724), of Peterhouse, Cambridge, Lecturer at St Giles', Cripplegate, and St Michael's, Queenhithe. After his deprivation he read prayers for the congregation in his own house in Little Trinity Lane until his death in 1724⁵.

LINDSAY, JOHN (b. 1686), ordained deacon 13th June 1717 by Henry Gandy in Mr Earberry's Chapel in Bedford Court, priest by the same bishop 18th June 1717 in Trinity Chapel, Aldersgate Street. Lindsay succeeded Robert Orme in the care of Trinity Chapel and is thought

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. x, p. 401.

² *Ibid.* p. 432.

³ Brett MSS., vol. v, f. 26. Mrs Sherman to Thomas Brett, 11th August 1722. "Mr Cotton of Cranbrook was taken up last week in town and since they sent to his house to bring up his son but not finding him they have taken his chaplain whose name is Jebb." See also Brett to Campbell, 6th February 1724/25 (College Papers, f. 1, p. 176), in which reference is made to a journey taken by Jebb to France, "Mr Cotton wants his help."

⁴ Episcopal Chest Papers, No. 2057.

⁵ See Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. xi, p. 191, 27th April 1733.

to have retained it to his death. A certain amount of doubt arises from a statement made by Rawlinson in a letter to Brett 21st May 1733 to the effect that Mr Lindsay had opened a chapel in Southwark¹. He was one of the last surviving presbyters of the regular line. There is evidence that Lindsay in his later years came into touch with the outer world to a greater extent than was usual with the clergy of the Non-Jurors' communion. An entry in the private account book of Archbishop Secker reads as follows: "1763, May 16. To Mr Lindsay, a Non-Juring clergyman, £2. 2s.²" It is a unique instance of sympathy on the part of an Archbishop with the Non-Jurors and that so late as the reign of George III. Further, in the College A Folio of Bishop Forbes, p. 63, the following remarkable statement is made: The record is concerned with gifts made in the years 1756, 1758 and 1759, by John Blatchford, Esq., who had been Lord Mayor of London in 1750. Bishop Forbes gives the information that in that year John Lindsay of Aldersgate Chapel acted as chaplain to the Lord Mayor.

MARTYN, THOMAS, an original lay Non-Juror and a member of the first Non-Juring congregation which was formed immediately after the Revolution and served by the Rev. W. Snatt. On 19th December 1690 Thomas Martyn, William Wrayford and Joseph Smith applied to Archbishop Sancroft for advice as to attending the "public churches," and were instructed by the Primate to withdraw themselves³. Martyn was godfather to Thomas Bowdler the younger, commonly known as Mr Bowdler of Bath.

MAWMAN, TIMOTHY (1683-1763), son of George, of Marton, Yorks, of Queen's College, Oxford; ordained deacon Carlisle 1706, priest Durham 8th June 1707; instituted 1709 to the Rectory of Elton, Stockton, in succession to Henry Doughty who had held a living from 1668 and was father to Henry Doughty, formerly curate of Filingdales and afterwards Non-Juror bishop. Mawman married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Davison, Vicar of Norton (1663-1690) and deprived at the Revolution. He was "received" 22nd April 1716. "I myself (writes Mawman to Dr Brett) by Mr Doughty's direction and his application to Mr Gandy for me was received into communion in Mr Gandy's Chapel by Mr Collier and had my orders confirmed by him there in Mr Gandy's presence⁴." Mawman's influence in the neighbourhood of Stockton was always regarded as of great importance.

MONTGOMERY, ROBERT, an original Non-Juror of whom little is known. He was originally a presbyter of the Scottish Church and is mentioned in the Brett MSS. in terms of the highest respect.

ORME, ROBERT, resigned the living of Wouldham, Kent, in 1697, and entered the Non-Jurors' communion as a "Penitent." He officiated

¹ Brett MSS., vol. IX, f. 211.

² This extract has been forwarded to the writer by Canon Ollard.

³ College Papers (Bishop Forbes), f. A, pp. 240 *et seq.*

⁴ Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 239. Mawman's original Letters of Orders are preserved in the Episcopal Chest Papers (1313). The Letter of Priests' Orders is duly superscribed J. C. 22nd April 1716.

for many years in Trinity Chapel, Aldersgate; d. 14th January 1732/33. He was buried at Lewisham. Bishop Blackburne said the Last Office.

PECK, FRANCIS, vicar of Orlestone, Kent, has been confused by several writers with his more famous namesake, the author of *Desiderata Curiosa*. He was admitted into the Non-Jurors' communion by Bishop Hicke in the earlier part of the year 1715. Peck's career as a Non-Juror has been narrated in the text and may be regarded as brief and erratic. He died about the year 1725.

RAWLINSON, RICHARD (1690-1755), ordained deacon 21st September 1716, and priest two days later by Mr Collier, in Mr Laurence's Chapel on Tower Hill. Consecrated 25th March 1728 by Bishops Gandy, Doughty and Blackburne. The name of Rawlinson is known far beyond the limits of the Non-Jurors' communion. He has appeared in this book purely as a Non-Juror priest and bishop, and the record which has been given may probably be regarded as a very strange one.

RUSSELL, RICHARD, of University College, Oxford, and according to Hearne, "preferred to a living in the country," was received into "communion" by Bishop Brett in July 1716. He was a man of some literary attainments. Hearne reports that "Mr Richard Russell, A.M., formerly of University College, now a Non-Juring clergyman, hath just published Vida's works in 2 vols. in 8vo. making use of the edition at Cremona lent him by Dr Rawlinson...Mr Russell hath dedicated it to Mr Pope, the poet¹." Russell also translated Quesnel's *Notes on the New Testament*. He appears to have been seriously disturbed by the Usages controversy and at once joined the party of Spinckes. His name is to be found in connection with the re-union negotiations of 1730.

RUTTER, JOHN, M.A., "of the University" (*sic*), ordained deacon 29th June 1716, priest 12th August 1716, by Bishop Collier. Rutter was an enthusiastic Usager. He seems to have been somewhat advanced in years, and removed to Ireland, where he died about the year 1726. There are some fragmentary references to a congregation in the neighbourhood of Dublin which was served by him.

SCOTT, WILLIAM, is little known. He appears in Overton's list as a curate in the diocese of London, but he is principally known for the contribution which he made to the literature of the Usages controversy².

SNATT, WILLIAM (1645-1721), son of Edward of Lewes; B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford 1664; ordained deacon 20th May 1665, Chichester; Prebendary 23rd February 1674/75; Vicar of Cuckfield 27th November 1681. He was one of the first of the clergy to serve a separated congregation, and enjoyed the intimate confidence of Sancroft. He took part in the farewell celebration of Holy Communion in Lambeth Palace Chapel on Whit Sunday 31st May 1691³. He appeared on the scaffold at the execution of Friend and Parkins in 1696 in company with Jeremy Collier, against whom he became a very decided opponent in the later controversy, and is reported to have been the author of *Mr Collier's*

¹ Hearne's *Remarks, etc.*, vol. xi, p. 92.

² See List of Pamphlets, p. 63.

³ N. Brett's *Considerations*.

Desertion discussed (1720), which title has obvious reference to Collier's tract on the outbreak of the Revolution.

SOUTHCOTBE, LEWIS, *Senr* (b. 1653), of Rose Ash, Devon, was one of the few Non-Jurors who were never actually ejected from their livings. His father caused him to be baptised by the canonical but deprived rector. In 1675 he was ordained deacon and priest and inducted to the living of Rose Ash. In 1692, influenced by the example of Dr Sherlock, he took the oaths but recanted and was received into the Non-Jurors' communion by a special commission held for that purpose by Bishops Lloyd and Turner¹. In a letter from his son to Rawlinson 10th July 1740 the following passage occurs: "Although admonished he was never molested owing to his piety and excellent character...but although the clemency and forbearance of several bishops of Exeter was such as to permit him to live and die undisturbed, yet the sense of their own duties to their several sovereigns was such as to oblige them to put a Curate into his parish who should not be obnoxious to the Government²." Southcotbe maintained a correspondence with Thomas Brett for some fifteen years.

SOUTHCOTBE, LEWIS, *Junr* (b. 1684), was compelled to leave Queens' College, Cambridge, on account of suspicion of Jacobite sympathies, and was ordained deacon in 1708 by Dr Lloyd, deprived Bishop of Norwich. Southcotbe married for his second wife a daughter of Henry Dodwell. In 1724 he succeeded to his uncle's estate in Honiton and restored an old chapel which was used as a Non-Juror place of worship for many years.

TAYLOR, RALPH, D.D. (1649-1722), son of William of Norton, Worcestershire; B.A. Trinity College, Oxford, 1670; M.A. 1673; D.D. 1686; rector of Stoke Severn, Worcestershire, 1684-1689. He was one of the witnesses to the protestation which George Hickes caused to be affixed to the door of Worcester Cathedral on his deprivation. Taylor went over to France and spent many years in ministering to the "members of the Church of England who wanted that service abroad," as he himself states in a copy of a petition praying for permission to return. This statement of the "case of Dr Taylor" forms the conclusion of the Brett MSS., and unfortunately is not dated³.

WAGSTAFFE, THOMAS (1692-1770), son of Thomas, the suffragan of Ipswich, was ordained deacon 25th June 1717 by Mr Collier in "Mr Laurence's Chapel"; and priest by the same bishop 25th April 1719. Thomas Hearne has something to say of "young Mr Wagstaffe...he seems to have good sense." The record of Wagstaffe's career which has been given in this book will amply confirm this somewhat conservative estimate made by Hearne.

YAPP, ABRAHAM, M.A., perpetual curate of Wilton Gilbert, Durham, 1695-1715; deprived in that year; appears in Overton's list as Precentor of Durham. There is evidence that he occasionally served the parish of St Mary the Less. This living was from 1572-1742 held by sequestra-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 27.

² *Ibid.* vol. xii, f. 55.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xx, f. 131.

tion, "or rather the profits were so small that whoever had the key of the Church left him by his predecessor became Minister without let or hindrance." The name of Ab. Yapp is mentioned in connection with this parish in the year 1698¹. He was the first minister in Newcastle of a congregation of Non-Jurors which continued until the year 1784.

The limitations of this book account for the absence from this list of such names as FRANCIS LEE (1661-1719), THOMAS BAKER (1666-1740), and THOMAS HEARNE (1678-1735). Lee belongs mainly to the earlier portion of the story, but mention may be made of the friendship which he had maintained with Dr Grabe, whose influence upon the later opinions of George Hickes has probably not been sufficiently estimated. Dr Lee together with Robert Nelson prepared some of the MSS. of Grabe for publication. Baker and Hearne were outside the main stream of the later movement, and their names seldom occur in any of the letters in the Brett MSS. Hearne's comments on the progress of the movement as contained in his *Remarks, etc.*, make curious reading. They are obviously written by one who was far removed from the activities of the London Non-Jurors and they are on that account more valuable as affording information from the point of view of one who was to a large extent a "looker on."

¹ Surtee's *History of Durham*, vol. II, p. 371, and vol. IV, p. 4.

NON-JURORS' DOCTRINE AND CEREMONIES

IT is proposed in this Appendix to give a few and not necessarily connected notes on various points of doctrine, discipline, worship and ceremonial as held and practised by the Later Non-Jurors. There is much information, some of which is very curious, to be obtained from a careful study of the Brett MSS.; it could not, however, be inserted in the text without unduly breaking the sequence of the story.

The first matter of importance is the doctrine held by the Non-Jurors concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. No subject which has engaged the thoughts of men can be said to lie outside the scope of the historian, and the doctrine of the Non-Jurors on these subjects should certainly be clearly stated and illustrated from the standpoint of historical research. The Caroline divines may be said to have endeavoured to restate these doctrines according to the Anglican standpoint which was being established after the welter of the controversies of the preceding century. The Non-Jurors were, in this sense, the successors of the theologians of the Restoration period. The difference between the two groups may be expressed by the statement that, while the earlier theologians were content to maintain a sacrifice in the Eucharist and a real spiritual presence in the Sacrament, the Later Non-Jurors attempted a more elaborate definition of their belief. The conclusions to which the Non-Juror scholars arrived are stated with great precision in Bishop Deacon's *Comprehensive View*: "The Eucharist is both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. Our Lord instituted the Sacrifice of the Eucharist when He began to offer Himself for the sins of all men, *i.e.* immediately after eating His Last Passover. He did not offer the Sacrifice upon the Cross; it was *slain* there but was *offered* at the Institution of the Eucharist." Bishop Deacon proceeds to describe the proper celebration of the Eucharist according to his standpoint. The priest

does as Christ did...he next repeats our Saviour's powerful words "This is my Body," "This is my Blood" over the Bread and Cup. The effect of the words is that the Bread and Cup are made authoritative Representations or symbols of Christ's crucified Body and of His Blood shed; and in consequence they are in a capacity of being offered to God as the great Christian Sacrifice....God accepts the Sacrifice and returns it to us again to feast upon, in order that we may be thereby partakers of all the benefits of our Saviour's Death and Passion. The Bread and Cup become capable of conferring these benefits on the priest praying to God the Father to send the Holy Spirit upon them. The Bread and Cup are thereby made the Spiritual, Life-giving Body and Blood of Christ, in Power and Virtue.

It may be claimed that this standpoint represents the view of the entire body of Non-Jurors. It is true that Deacon was not in some important respects in agreement with many of the most distinguished scholars of the body. The main difference, however, turned not upon the doctrines themselves, but on the point of their expression in the Book of Common Prayer as it now stands. Bishop Brett, for instance, completely changed his opinion on the true interpretation of the meaning of the English Prayer Book, but there is no reason to think that he would, even in his latest days, have had any difficulty in accepting the explanation of Eucharistic doctrine given by Thomas Deacon in his *Comprehensive View*. It is possible, nevertheless, to perceive a certain development of doctrine in the Later Non-Jurors which may be illustrated by some extracts from a controversy which arose on this subject between Bishops Collier and Brett. It may appear strange to ascribe an attitude of conservatism to Jeremy Collier in view of the part played by him in 1716, but he certainly belonged to the earlier school and manifested great anxiety in connection with what he considered rash developments of doctrine and practice. Complaints were often made that the Primus would not go one inch beyond the four points.

In the year 1722 Brett had proposed to publish a Thesis of which the following was the title:

Christ's sufferings on the Cross no distinct Sacrifice from the Oblation which He made in the Eucharist but the continuance or necessary consequence of that Oblation. In vindication of a passage in Dr Brett's discourse of the Necessity of discerning the Lord's Body in the Holy Communion, which has been misrepresented and charged as a dangerous doctrine by a late anonymous writer. By Thomas Brett, LL.D.¹

Collier had regarded some of the statements which Brett made in this Thesis as startling and likely to develop a new controversy². Brett submitted to Collier the consideration that the difference between them, if any, was a "logomachy." For instance, Collier had expressed his thought in these words: "This voluntary offering on the Cross was a sacrificial oblation." Taking this statement as it stands, Brett thought that it might be regarded as inadequate. But Collier had continued "'Twas typified and begun in the Holy Eucharist and continued on the Cross and by this last voluntary act our redemption was purchased." Brett comments on Collier's expression of belief as follows:

This is directly what Mr Johnson and I plead for that it was begun in the Holy Eucharist and continued on the Cross and completed by

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xviii, f. 1.

² *Ibid.* vol. v, f. 53. Collier to Brett, 25th October 1722.

the Resurrection and Ascension...in short, we allow that the oblation was continued on the Cross though begun in the Eucharist; but we cannot think it a distinct separate oblation....I conceive we must say either that Christ did not offer Himself in the Eucharist or that He offered Himself twice or that the oblation in the Eucharist was continued on the Cross and so but one oblation and in this if I understand you we are agreed¹.

Brett entered into some correspondence with Sir R. Cox, to whom he developed his views in a series of letters written in the year 1722, to which some reference has been made in the text. He makes a distinction between the voluntary sacrifice which Christ made at the time of the Institution of the Eucharist and the involuntary or passive sacrifice on the Cross².

Brett's original position as apart from any controversy with Collier seems to be expressed in the following quotation:

I was once of the opinion that the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was reconcilable to the Communion Office of the Established Liturgy... but I have since seen my error and find that the notion of Christ's offering Himself on the Cross alone, exclusive of any other oblation,... is utterly inconsistent with any oblation made by Christ in the Eucharist and if no oblation is made by Christ in the Eucharist neither ought we to make any oblation there³.

With regard to the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the conception of the Non-Jurors was expressed in the words that Christ was present in "power and effect," which may practically amount to what is sometimes called Virtualism. Transubstantiation was wholeheartedly renounced by all sections of the Non-Jurors. It may be remarked, with some doubt as to the wisdom of approaching the confines of philosophy, that the word substance with the Non-Jurors was used in a physical sense. There was one notable member of the body who did not admire the phrase which was commonly used by his colleagues. Archibald Campbell held that the words

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 267. Brett to Collier, 7th November 1722.

² *Ibid.* f. 254. Brett to Sir R. Cox, 2nd November 1722.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xviii, f. 1. It should be noted that these definitions of faith made by Brett are to be referred to that period of his life in which he had reached the extreme point of his career as a Usager. A full account of the Non-Jurors' doctrine on this subject is given by Bishop Dowden in his *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, Appendix K, pp. 227 *et seq.* Bishop Dowden points out an undoubted effect of these opinions which may be noted in the form of consecration in the Scottish Liturgy "who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice etc." The omission of the word "there" which is contained in the English Office is due to the Non-Jurors' contention that the offering was really made at the Eucharist. Bishop Dowden contends that although the Scottish Office bears undoubted traces of the influence of the Non-Jurors it is not necessary to accept their doctrine on this subject.

"power and effect" or "virtually" were just as objectionable as the term "transubstantiation," as being still another attempt to explain the *Modus*.

What Bishop Brett believed as to the effect of the consecration of the Eucharist may be illustrated by a further quotation from the letter of Sir R. Cox from which quotations have already been made. Brett's opponent had maintained an argument against Infant Communion in the following terms: "Christ cannot be eaten in the Sacrament but by Faith; infants have no faith; *Ergo*." Brett denied Cox's "Major."

If Christ can only be eaten by Faith, then it is not the consecration but the Faith of the communicants or of the single communicant for himself that makes the Bread Christ's Body. If so, when Christ Himself consecrated the Bread and Cup at the institution, He did not make them His Body and Blood, but His disciples made them by their Faith. But Christ said they were His Body and Blood before His disciples could have faith to believe them to be so and therefore He made them His Body and Blood by Consecration; the disciples did not make them so by their faith and when Christ had made the Bread His Body and the Cup His Blood they eat and drink that Body and Blood with their mouths and not by their faith¹.

This statement may be accepted as expressing the belief of the great majority of Non-Jurors through the whole course of the movement.

Further illustration may be given in the form of a letter of Dr Brett to his friend Campbell, written on the 21st February 1728/29:

We do adore Him. We draw near to the Holy Table or Altar with reverence and worship Him Whom we believe invisibly yet in a more especial manner present there...spiritually and sacramentally present though not corporally².

The question of the Reservation of the Sacrament is not mentioned in the papers of the Brett MSS. There was, of course, a rubric at the end of the New Communion Office authorizing reservation where necessary for the purpose of communicating the sick. The probability is that the practice was more fully developed by Thomas Deacon and his followers. A small MS. book of devotions which, among other relics of Deacon, is now in the possession of the Society of St John the Evangelist at Cowley (see p. 344) points to the possibility of communicants partaking of the Sacrament in their own houses without the presence of a priest. The "Devotions" to the Sacrament which have been developed in recent times represent a conception of worship which was entirely unknown to all sections of the Non-Jurors.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 254. Brett to Sir R. Cox, 2nd November 1722.

² College Papers, f. 1, No. 345. Correspondence of Brett and Campbell.

No reference to the practice of Sacramental or Private Confession is to be found in the literature of the period excepting the case of the famous sermon by Dr Brett in 1711 (see p. 21). Certain charges were made and circulated by Roger Laurence in 1732 against Dr Brett for having broken the "seal of confession," but the period at which the alleged offence (which was strongly denied by Brett) took place was previous to the reception of Brett into the Non-Jurors' communion. The conclusion may be fairly drawn that the Non-Jurors practised Confession just so much or little as their brethren of the Established Church.

Reference has been made in the text to some divergence of opinion among the Non-Jurors concerning the Middle State. Jeremy Collier, in particular, was greatly disturbed by the use of the word "purification" which was frequently made by Campbell in his famous work. In this point, a development of opinion on the part of the Non-Jurors may be noted, and Collier's conservatism was marked by his refusing to admit anything beyond "improvement." Thomas Brett agreed wholeheartedly with Campbell in the statement that even in the "higher mansions" it was permissible to think of the souls of the departed receiving purification. A curious state of affairs arose in connection with a pamphlet of Dr Brett on this subject which was withdrawn at the request of the Primus, who considered it as likely to support "Mr Campbell's heretical notions," and by mutual consent a revised edition was prepared by Laurence¹.

Campbell's name is associated with a certain Religious and Philosophical Fraternity concerning which information is contained in a MS. Collection of Devotions written in Campbell's own hand². It contains two Offices for the use of the Religious Society, the first of Thanksgiving, the second, of Penitence. There are also Morning and Night Prayers from various sources, a way of commending a departing soul; sundry prayers, *e.g.* for the Orthodox and Loyal bishops of the Christian Church who are now debarred from the public exercise of their function by a raging schism and a sinful rebellion and usurpation; prayers for the departed in which the need of purification is clearly taught; and a prayer for Dr Hickes, "Our spiritual superior in his last sickness." Among other curious fragments is an argument against the use of pictures in churches. This little volume is interesting as showing a deeply spiritual side of the religion of Campbell and those who

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 247. Brett to Charles Wheatly, 8th October 1722.

² The volume came from Mr Neill Menzies, nephew and joint-executor of Archibald Campbell, by various stages into the hands of the late Dr W. D. Macray of the Bodleian Library and is now in the possession of Mr F. R. D. Needham of Christ Church, Oxford.

joined him in this Religious Society about which no reference is to be found in any of the correspondence of the period.

The word "Popery," which is still called into the service of religious controversies, is not without a place in the writings of the Non-Jurors. It should be noted, however, that this term was, for the most part, used in a literal sense, and any departure from this rule of controversy was severely rebuked by the more responsible leaders. The word was properly used to indicate what appeared to the Non-Jurors to be the errors of the Church of Rome. George Smith was perhaps the only leading controversialist who made use of the term merely from a desire to excite prejudice. Smith was a hard fighter and at times displayed a certain tendency to hit below the belt, notably so in the attack which he made on Roger Laurence in 1734. Wagstaffe criticized this method of controversy in a letter written to Brett on 31st January 1731/32: "It is a method long since condemned among men of a moderate and candid disposition of mind to paint a writer as popishly inclined because he disagrees with us¹."

The significance which the Non-Jurors assigned to the corresponding word "Protestant" may receive a short notice in this connection. The main body did not hesitate to accept this name, although it is true that Thomas Deacon, with characteristic thoroughness, repudiated it entirely: "As to the name Protestant I never claimed it and own that I have no juster title to it than that of Papist. No, I disclaim them both²." The Non-Jurors appear to have recognized that as an historical fact the terms Catholic and Protestant are not mutually exclusive. They would probably have accepted the statement that the true antithesis of Catholic is Heretic and that the term Protestant is only to be explained by the use of the opposing term Papist. As an instance, there are certain expressions of Campbell in a letter written when he was accused of being in schism because he had refused to agree to the terms of union made by five bishops:

I do believe the Holy Scriptures and the three Creeds as so many just summaries of the *Credenda*. I am in communion, as you lately was, with the primitive Fathers of the Catholic Church...by all which I observe so far as I am by God's help able, the noble rule of the Church of England's reformation from popery. I am in full communion with a whole National, Episcopal, Protestant Church³.

It is obvious that Campbell did not conceive of the word Protestant as directly opposed to Catholic.

¹ Brett MSS., vol. IX, f. 167.

² See *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 182. Reply of Deacon to Dr Conyers Middleton.

³ Brett MSS., vol. IX, f. 117. Campbell to Brett, 30th November 1732.

It should, however, be noted that there was a certain apprehension that the use of the word Protestant might lead to misconception. Dr Brett indicated the need for caution in the use of the popular designation in a postscript which he desired to add to his History of the Lutherans:

There is one thing more that I think proper to observe to you at this time by way of caution that we ought to be very careful that we be not cheated with the words "Protestant Religion," which have been for some years past, very rife in the mouths of a certain party, as if there were some one particular religion to be called by that name, more than any other. The word protestant, indeed, is known and understood by us to signify a protester against popery, and therefore, all but papists may properly enough be called protestants; therefore, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Anabaptists, Muggletonians, Socinians, Deists, nay, Atheists, all come under the denomination as well as the Church of England, but these are not one but several religions who differ from each other in fundamental points, so that to say the Protestant Religion, as denoting a particular church or sect, is absurd, because the word *protestant*, as it is vulgarly understood, signifies not any one church or sect, but is merely negative, and intimates that those so-called are not papists, but does not inform them what they are....But if there be a religion which is to be called protestant by reason of eminence as most remarkably so, as having in a particular manner publicly exhibited their protest against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, in a more solemn way than others have done, then only the Lutheran religion can be called protestant in this sense....But if we will understand the word protestant in its full latitude and as it commonly means, then we ought to say the protestant religions in the plural number, for Protestant Religion in the singular number, is in that sense absurd and nonsensical¹.

Another subject on which many comments were made by various Non-Jurors turns upon the relation of the Church of England to the Catholic Church. It has been made evident in the foregoing pages that this distinction between the local and the Universal Church was carefully made by all sections of the Non-Jurors. It will here suffice to quote a passage from a letter of Brett to Sir R. Cox who had urged upon him the duty of obedience to our "common Mother." Brett explained his meaning as under:

But if you consult Bishop Pearson on the Creed upon that article, the Holy Catholic Church, you will find our common Mother is that Church which was founded by Christ and His Apostles at Jerusalem and from thence spread over the whole world. And this Church was united in the same form of government, the same faith and the same worship for three hundred years at least, as appears from the Union

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 175.

which was found to be betwixt all the Bishops of the world at the Council of Nice. And therefore if any particular church deviates from the faith, government or worship, then observed by the whole Catholic Church, we ought to leave that particular church that we may continue united to the Catholic and Apostolic Church which is the only Mother of all good Christians¹.

On the question of Erastianism, the great majority of Non-Jurors were, as has been stated by various writers, on the side of the spiritual independence of the Church. It is, however, a question whether the Non-Jurors' belief in the inherent right of the Church has not been too much stressed. The whole movement represents a body of men who performed ecclesiastical acts in defiance of the civil power, but it must be remembered that the Non-Jurors did not recognize the Hanoverian government as that State with which the "Ante-Revolution Church" had been in close alliance. It is probable that some of those who claimed the right to act independently of the government which was in possession would have submitted with docility to the commands of a "rightful" government, even in spiritual matters. Bishop Hicke was the great champion of the rights of the Church as a spiritual body and those who followed Hicke most closely maintained or even developed his views on that subject. Brett had something to say on this point in a further letter to Sir R. Cox. Writing on the "independency" of the Church, Brett admitted that much power might be allowed both to heathen and Christian princes. The authority of both is the same—it is purely civil:

But it is contrary to the Law of God for the civil magistrate to make or ordain Bishops, Priests and Deacons, because Christ has committed that power to His Apostles and their successors. Neither can He dissolve the spiritual relation between them and their people because that was also committed to the Apostles and their successors².

There is no reason to think that Brett would have modified this language in his later days, but the same remark can hardly be made of some expressions contained in a letter written to an unknown correspondent apparently at this same time: "As to these things having been forbidden by the Act of Uniformity, we must obey

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 205. Brett to Sir R. Cox, 25th November 1721. It is again necessary to point out that this note was written at the time when Brett was at his greatest distance from Communion with the Church of England. It is possible that he would not have used the same form of words in his later developments, but it is at the same time not unfair to say that the statement made by Brett to Sir R. Cox would have received the approval of almost all Non-Jurors throughout the course of the movement, and it is certain that it expresses with great accuracy the sentiments of Bishop Hicke in his *Constitution of the Catholic Church*.

² Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 295. Brett to Sir R. Cox, 26th January 1722/23.

God. A legal establishment of never so long a continuance will not alter the case¹."

The opinions of two other well-known figures in the story deserve notice. The first extract is from the pen of Matthias Earberry, one of the strangest characters in the movement, and who had taken up a position of great opposition to Collier and Brett in 1717. The language is quaint, but the meaning can be easily understood:

As to the justice of your cause I will never relinquish it, nor turn Church principles into faction, nor run back to Erastianism, from which I thought myself delivered when I was received by Dean Hickes. Those murmurers who would return us to the Egyptian bondage again, have a more wishful view to Pharaoh's court than to the Heavenly Canaan².

The second reference occurs in a letter of Laurence to George Smith, dated 31st October 1734:

I am against any principles or practices which make the necessities of the Altar give way to those of the Crown. And as I am free from any mercenary temporal expectations in either the one or the other so my dutiful regard for the latter must not swallow up and smother my bounden zeal for the former...I am determined to regard them both in due proportion³.

The later Non-Jurors of the succession from Campbell went, as is well known, to great extremes in refusing to allow to the civil power any right of interference with the Church. The present writer has dealt elsewhere with Deacon's belief in the complete independence of the Church and it may suffice here to mention an expression of opinion made by Bishop Cartwright in a letter to Jonathan Boucher of the late period of April 1794, in which he severely criticized the Act of Parliament by which the Scots bishops obtained their freedom. "It is cramped with such restrictions as no Catholic Bishop ought to be bound by⁴." It should be noted in order to obtain a complete view of the opinions of the Non-Jurors on this subject that those bishops who took the line of opposition to the Usages were much more inclined than their opponents to entertain Erastian sentiments. Thomas Brett, in the course of a long and interesting account of the controversy given by him to his old friend, Johnson, of Cranbrook, stated "that the other side could not throw off the Erastian notions which they had imbibed in the days of Charles II." Richard Rawlinson was, so far as it is possible to pronounce with certainty on the characteristics of so contradic-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 311.

² *Ibid.* vol. ix, f. 229. Earberry to Brett, 11th September 1733.

³ *Ibid.* vol. x, f. 115.

⁴ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 67.

tory a person, an Erastian of a very pronounced type, and the extraordinary attempts made in the year 1743 to 1747 by Bishop George Smith to interfere in Scottish affairs, show very conclusively that whatever Smith's exact opinions might be, he was certainly no believer in the doctrine of "a free church in a free state."

One of the most interesting results of the study of the Non-Jurors by means of contemporary letters is to be found in the insight which is given into the little society as a working concern. Canons were made from time to time, and frequent appeals to the bishops are recorded, in very many cases for advice in difficult questions of marriage. The question of "mixed" marriages seems to have caused no small trouble to the clergy, particularly to those who adhered to Collier. Roger Laurence is responsible for the statement that "our Primus with some presbyters made a Canon against mixed marriages but afterwards abrogated it¹." Probably this re-consideration of the matter was due to a remonstrance which was made by Brett who did not think that mixed marriages ought to be forbidden absolutely and gave as historical instances in favour of lenity, the cases of Queen Bertha and Clotilda. What appears to be a most extreme proceeding is recorded in a letter written by Wagstaffe on the 9th March 1727/28, to Brett as his bishop, acquainting him that "in obedience with the rubric I have expelled two persons from the Church." The offence for which this punishment was administered seems to have been that the parties concerned were married in the "public communion²." Many similar cases are recorded and it is evident that an attempt was made to enforce severe discipline in questions of marriage.

Dispensations appear to have been asked for and given, e.g. Lewis Southcombe of Rose Ash, Devon, an original Non-Juror, applied to Bishop Brett on the 1st March 1716/17 for a dispensation or licence from strictly keeping Lent, so that he would only be obliged to keep the rule on Wednesdays and Fridays³. Again, Samuel Jebb wrote on 3rd February 1728/29 asking for permission to "break the rubric" and to administer the Eucharist if only one person is present and a further letter of Jebb is preserved acknowledging with thanks the permission received from Bishop Brett⁴.

The custom of catechizing children in church according to the rubric seems to have been maintained or revived in many congregations of the Non-Jurors. Thomas Deacon was a strong believer in this method of instruction, and maintained it in Manchester during the whole of his ministerial life. It will be remembered that his *Comprehensive View*, later known as *The Catholic Confession*

¹ Brett MSS., vol. VI, f. 259. Laurence to Brett, 25th January 1726/27.

² *Ibid.* vol. VII, f. 153.

³ *Ibid.* vol. II, f. 323.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. XVIII, f. 329.

of the *Orthodox British Church*¹, contains a "shorter catechism being suited to the meanest capacity and calculated for the use of children." An interesting letter which Deacon wrote to Brett on the 6th April 1728 shortly after his return to Manchester from Stepney, where he had attempted to found a practice in 1727, contains the following passage:

I have often thought that it would be a very useful work to reform the *Catechismus ad Parochos*; or to form a book of the same nature upon that model, that would be a little body of Divinity and contain an account of Faith, Practice, the Sacraments, Church Communion, etc., and to lay down such principles that would guard the people against all modern sectaries. I think it would be more useful than the *Whole Duty of Man* for the common people and would be of good service in bringing up our own children in our own principles, who as they come out into the world, cannot be supposed to read all controversies; whereas such a book as this to be their constant companion and instructor might guard them from changing their principles. I cannot but think it would be a useful piece of work and wish I could see it well done. The *Catechismus* is a good model².

Deacon seems to have established a system of catechizing in the congregation at Dunstan's Court, Fleet Street, of which he took charge at a very early age. It will be remembered that Thomas Wagstaffe took over the care of this congregation in 1722. On the 15th April 1730 an anonymous writer sent a complaint to Bishop Brett to the effect that there had been a

total neglect of catechizing in that part of the Catholic Church over which it is presumed you preside or have the primacy. That worthy good man, now with God, I mean Mr Montgomery, but a little before his death, with grief observed to me that he saw a Laodicean temper was gone out amongst us.

The writer names as his chief point difficulties which had arisen in connection with the education of children of his communion in case of their being taken to the parish church for Catechism. He had promised to take his boy to say his catechism at Mr W.'s chapel, but found great difficulties in the way. "I was answered, not indeed by Mr W. but the chapel-keeper no such custom had been observed since Dr Deacon had officiated³." Brett regarded the matter seriously and sent an episcopal admonition to Wagstaffe, who did not receive it with entire submission, as may be seen:

The letter came from Levine, whose character I believe you are not unacquainted with, a turbulent uneasy man upon whose account and for whose sake I have formerly had a great deal of trouble. Besides he does not belong to my congregation but to Mr L. I have had thoughts

¹ See Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 57. Cartwright to Boucher.

² Brett MSS., vol. VII, f. 157.

³ *Ibid.* vol. VIII, f. 1.

of mentioning catechizing to my congregation but as to the taking notice of it after the Nicene Creed in the manner you suggest I think there will be no need for it, since Levine for whose sake it is chiefly designed is never with me on a Sunday morning and very rarely on an afternoon¹.

There is a considerable amount of valuable information regarding the worship and ceremonial of the Non-Jurors. Reference has been made to the custom of daily Morning and Evening Prayer which was observed at the famous oratory at Scroop's Court, commonly known as Head Quarters. This was the use during the whole of the nineteen years in which Bishop Gandy served this chapel, but was dropped on his death. Rawlinson, in announcing this decision to Brett, mentioned that it had not been usual in the case of any other congregation. From the letter of Thomas Deacon to his father-in-law, written on the occasion of the death of his wife (quoted on p. 98), it is evident that daily Matins and Vespers were accustomed to be said in the chapel in Fennel Street, Manchester.

It is, generally speaking, correct to say that the Holy Communion was celebrated by the Non-Jurors much more frequently than by the clergy of the public communion, but there was some considerable difference even in this respect between the various sections of the body. It was the custom of those who adhered to the communion of Jeremy Collier to celebrate the Eucharist on every Sunday and Holy Day, and this was regarded as a startling innovation by some congregations and led to complaints that it was an infringement on personal liberty. In reply to one of these complaints, Bishop Brett expressed his opinion that it was a strange kind of liberty which was offended by the offering of the privilege of weekly communion. Brett gave his ideal of the service for Sunday morning in a letter addressed to Collier at the time of the preparation of the New Communion Office.

As to the Introit, this is to be sung after the choir offices, while the priest retires to the vestry to put on the habit proper to the Communion (which as you know ought to be different from that he reads prayers in) and from thence proceeds to the Altar².

This arrangement was continued after the union of 1732 as appears from an anonymous defence of the Concordate which contains an account of Brett's own practice. The writer may possibly be Brett himself.

The water is put in the cup before Morning Service and at the Offertory the wine is poured in...between the Services an Introit is

¹ Brett MSS., vol. viii, f. 3. Levine became one of the most violent opponents of the Union of 1732 which he seems to have satirized in some doggerel verses entitled "The Little Junto."

² *Ibid.* vol. xv, f. 325. Brett to Collier, 12th February 1717/18.

sung...Now I hope a prose Psalm may be said to be taken out of the Bible, more properly than the wretched lines of Hopkins and Sternhold¹.

A final illustration on this subject is taken from a letter of Brett to George Smith, written 16th June 1733. The writer is glad that Smith approves of the Psalm before the Communion Office. It is the intention of the Church of England to have an interval between Matins and Eucharist. Dr Heylin is quoted in support of this assertion as saying that the proper hour of Matins is between 6 and 7 and the Communion Service not till 9—"which is still the arrangement at Winchester, Southwell and elsewhere²."

The development in the direction of ceremonial went further than has generally been believed, but the evidence goes to show that the divergence from the ordinary use of the public communion was found principally in the Usager section of the movement. Those who had studied the first Liturgy of Edward VI were not ignorant of the rubric directing the use of the Vestment or Cope for the celebration of the Eucharist. Thomas Brett certainly had some knowledge of the proper habit of the minister according to the directions of the first English Prayer Book. The following words are from a letter addressed to Roger Laurence about the end of the year 1724.

I am bold to trouble you with a piece of silk which I desire you to get dyed for me and made into a cope for me as soon as conveniently you can. As the rubric at the end of the first Liturgy of Edward VI directs the same officiating habit at the ministration of the Communion, viz. a surplice or alb and a cope or vestment, whether the person that celebrates be of the higher or lower order, I think it may not be improper for us to preserve a distinction of the orders by the colour of the cope, if our primus and you approve of it. And therefore as you and our brother Wagstaffe have red copes, let mine be a fine purple³.

For the cost of dyeing and making up the silk Brett enclosed the sum of one guinea which he thought might be sufficient. He further expressed the opinion that no other habit is required for a bishop. "For the rochet, lawn sleeves and chimere are indeed no other than the bishop's ordinary dress as the gown and cassock is the priest's⁴." In the following year Campbell appears to have corresponded with Brett on this subject and to have sent to him a parcel of purple cloth to make a cope in the selection of which Campbell stated that he had taken as much care as if his old friend were Archbishop of Canterbury⁵. The word *chasuble* is seldom used, but from an expression in another letter of Campbell, it

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 11.

² *Ibid.* vol. xvii, f. 111.

³ In a letter to Campbell, 6th February 1724/25 (College Papers, No. 176) Brett says that Mr W.'s and Mr L.'s copes reach to their knees.

⁴ Brett MSS., vol. xvii, f. 37.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. vi, f. 9.

appears that the distinction between cope and chasuble was clearly understood. "By our rubric cope, I reckon, is meant either the true cope or the vestment, that is, the upper officiating habit¹." Laurence himself had some aspirations in this direction. In a letter written on the 28th July 1726 he sent to Brett a sketch of an alb and ventured to presume leave to wear one, although Mr Collier never would give his consent². There is no evidence that Collier wore any Eucharistic vestment. It may be that his somewhat eclectic conservatism would be displayed in this matter. In a letter written to Campbell in January 1725 Brett made the suggestion that the people ought to be asked to buy a cope for the Primus, as a surplice or alb and cope are the only officiating habits for a bishop. Nothing is regarded of the result of this appeal except that it did not "take on very well" and drew from Laurence a most unusual appeal in favour of a tender consideration for prejudices. "Would not a bishop's dress such as is usually worn by the English reformed bishops be more suitable?" Laurence thought that people would contribute more readily for what they were accustomed to³. When Laurence became a bishop it appears that he made some advances in ceremonial. A letter which was written by Brett to Mrs Blackmore shortly after the death of Laurence in 1736 may be read with some interest and amusement:

I remember Mr Laurence, some years before he bought his set of vestments (for that is the right name, the cope being made in another fashion like a mantle), had one of crimson. But afterwards by consulting the Roman Missal and perhaps discoursing with some Roman priests about their habits, he learned from them that they used copes and vestments of different colours, according to the different seasons of the year, which if I remember right are green for Spring, white for Summer, scarlet for Autumn and purple for Winter; whereupon he provided himself with a set of all these colours. Though I believe the Church of England either before or since the Reformation never directed these different colours⁴. I suppose Mr L. might give Mr Campbell that odd vestment which Mr L. bought before the others for I suppose he would not break the set⁵.

After the death of Laurence the cross and candlesticks used by him were by some means or other acquired by Richard Rawlinson, who, according to information given by Mrs Blackmore, his inveterate enemy, acted the part of the dog in the manger with regard to these ornaments. "Mr Laurence's cross and candle-

¹ Brett MSS., vol. vi, f. 29. Campbell to Brett, 5th June 1725.

² *Ibid.* f. 167.

³ *Ibid.* f. 183.

⁴ This "sequence" of colours may appear curious but it probably refers to the ordinary Roman use. The words "spring," etc., are an unintelligent misunderstanding of the word "seasons."

⁵ Brett MSS., vol. xix, f. 115.

sticks he will not suffer Mr Gordon to use, but he has laid them up with his grid-irons¹." The same lady informed Brett in a letter of about the same date that "poor Mr Gordon was very much disappointed that the candlesticks were not for our Altar²."

Some evidence is available regarding ceremonial practised by Bishop Deacon and his successors in Manchester. The present writer expressed elsewhere the opinion that the services conducted by Deacon "were very simple in character³," but there is a statement made on the authority of Mr Seddon and contained in the papers of the Rev. H. H. Norris that "the congregation of Dr Deacon used candles, vestments, etc. as the Papists do, but they do not believe in transubstantiation⁴."

One point of ceremonial which came to be developed in the course of the preparation of the New Communion Office may be regarded with some surprise. In the rubrics of this Liturgy the priest is directed to stand always at the north *side* of the Altar, which did certainly not mean the north *end*. This particular direction is one of the results of the influence which Thomas Brett exercised from time to time upon the preparation of the Office. On the 12th February 1717/18 Brett wrote a long letter to Collier containing various suggestions, some of which have already received notice in the text. With regard to the position of the celebrant, Brett considered that what is called the eastward position is "shocking," and he strongly advised that the direction as to the north side should be made perfectly clear. Brett's objection to the position ordered in the first English Liturgy rested on the fact that it would make it necessary at certain points of the service for the celebrant to turn his back upon the Altar "while the tremendous gifts were lying upon it⁵." It is interesting to note that later in the same year Brett wrote to Charles Wheatly and developed his views on this

¹ Brett MSS., vol. XIX, f. 123. Brett to Mrs Blackmore, 9th September 1736.

The following extract from a MS. Letter Book of Dr Rawlinson now in the Library at St John's College, Oxford, will be read with interest in this connection. The book is almost entirely concerned with Rawlinson's tenants etc on his estate at Wasperton in Warwickshire, which he left to St John's. On the 24th August 1736 (f. 230), Dr R. writes to a Mr Wright who was probably his agent at Warwick: "For the Church between ourselves, at present a secret, I design two brass branches of candlesticks and a fine marble table for their Altar. These came to my hand by accident and at a reasonable rate and will be ornaments few of our country churches can boast." In a further letter, 11th January 1738/39 (f. 229), Rawlinson notes that the brass branches as well as the marble table were too small for the small church of Wasperton. It is at least possible that these ornaments may have been part of the furniture of Bishop Laurence's oratory.

² Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 430.

³ *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 100.

⁴ Add. MSS. D. 30, f. 17.

⁵ Brett MSS., vol. xv, f. 325.

subject. He suggested that in his forthcoming work Wheatly should make it clear that those of his communion "who consecrate with their back to the people are wrong¹." There is no evidence regarding this particular point in the later stages of the movement. The two sections who came together in 1732 would both be in the habit of celebrating at the north side of the Altar, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that those who followed Campbell and Deacon would adopt the position "in the midst of the Altar" as directed by the first English Prayer Book and as ordered in the Clementine Liturgy.

A first-hand account is preserved of the difficulties which the Non-Jurors experienced in the conduct of public worship during the excitement which reached its height at the execution of Hall and Paul in the year 1716. It is given by Thomas Wagstaffe in a letter addressed to Brett on the 20th October of that year:

There were a number of them that mixed themselves with the congregation before Divine Service began, and like wolves in lambs' clothing forbore to disclose themselves till the reading of the Prayer for the Royal Family at which they nois'd out "King George and the Royal Issue etc." But good Mr Gandy continued his prayers as long as was possible for him to be heard. In short, they proceeded to such a degree of insolence that they held out their swords (though I think they were not drawn) towards him and endeavoured to threaten him into the cry of King George. But their noise and their threats were equally ineffectual. Mr G. out-braved their insults and showed them that he had the meekness to suffer without resistance, yet he had the courage to refuse though he suffered. Nor were these all; for there were great numbers posted in Scroops Court, who, upon hearing the cry of drawing swords, ran upstairs to the assistance of their fellows. The occasion of which was this; a gentleman laying his hand upon his sword to dispose it in a more convenient manner was immediately set upon by them as if he were going to draw his sword. "Knock him down" was the general cry...in a word, after this barbarous usage they haled him downstairs and carried him before the Lord Mayor, who after a great deal of opprobrious language committed him to Newgate, from which he has since been discharged on bail....I cannot tell whether this gentleman is of our communion. I don't meet with anyone that knows... his name is Poole².

Thomas Brett suffered some persecution on account of his ministrations as a Non-Juror priest and bishop, but the trouble appears to have been limited to a short period at the beginning of the reign of George I. The following letter was addressed to Brett on 11th August 1718 by a member of his flock at Feversham whose

¹ Brett MSS., vol. xvi, f. 9. Brett to Wheatly, 26th April 1718.

² *Ibid.* vol. II, f. 305.

name is not easy to decipher, but is probably a lady of the name of Sieve:

Rev. Sir,—We have thought fit to let you know that Mr Cook's discourse this day hath been about you being heare and that he does not like you meddling with other men's matters, nor your praying for the ded, and anoynting them with oil and was in a great pashun and said he would not go to Spring Grove but he would go to Lambeth, so that he hath made a great noys in the town so that we think it not safe for you to cum a Tuesday¹.

The proper setting for this letter is found in the sketch of his own life given by Brett to Rawlinson in 1732. After describing to his friend that he had been accustomed to go to Feversham every fourth Sunday, Brett continued:

but after I had gone in this manner to Feversham and Canterbury for about two years I was sent on August 7th, 1718, to visit a sick woman at Feversham who had been a constant communicant with me between three and four years. Accordingly I went as desired, prayed with her, administered the Eucharist to her till August 9th, and then she died and I returned home. I had none with me at prayers and Sacrament but her husband and his brother and one more of my constant communicants. However, Shadrach Cooke (who had been himself a Non-Juror twenty years and upwards but had then complied and taken the oaths) being at that time Vicar of Feversham, the next day in his pulpit took occasion to rail at me for visiting sick persons in his parish and said he would not go to Spring Grove to complain but he would make his complaint at Lambeth, and accordingly did so. And the Archbishop told some Kentish gentlemen who acquainted me with it that if he heard more such complaints of me he should be obliged to acquaint the King and Council with it. However, I continued to go to Feversham as I had done before and Shadrach made no more complaints, finding he had not pleased his neighbours in what he had done. And I heard nothing more from the Archbishop. On November 4th, 1729, Mr Smith of Feversham who married Mr Wagstaffe's sister sent me to desire me to bury his wife and got the minister of Norton near Feversham to give me leave to perform the Office in his church which I did on November 17th. I cannot learn who wrote a letter to my Lord Townsend to acquaint him with the matter. His Lordship sent his letter to the Archbishop who ordered his Archdeacon to write to Mr Simpson, the Vicar of Norton, to reprove him for letting me officiate in his church. Mr Simpson sent a submissive letter in answer to the letter of reproof and there was an end of the matter. This I thank God, is all the disturbance has yet been given me as a Non-Juror².

There is some further information concerning Mrs Smith given in a letter of Brett to Campbell dated 17th January 1729/30. There

¹ Brett MSS., vol. III, f. 297.

² *Ibid.* vol. XIX, f. 33. Brett to Rawlinson, 20th June 1732.

had been inscribed on the tombstone the words "For whose soul pray ye that survive" headed by a cross. This provoked something in the nature of a popular demonstration, and it was afterwards erased. Brett advised as a preferable form "the Lord grant unto her that she may find mercy in that day." This inscription actually appeared on the tombstones of a considerable number of Non-Jurors, notably Bishop Deacon and Bishop Brown of Manchester¹.

This desultory account of some of the out-of-the-way doings of the later Non-Jurors may be closed by a reference to an act on the part of Thomas Brett which appears from the modern point of view inexplicable in the case of a man of undoubted learning and scholarship. Reference has been made in the text to Mrs Kennett, a widowed daughter of Thomas Brett. She had one son who received his grandfather's name of Thomas, and both mother and son were the cause of endless trouble to Thomas Brett and his wife. The lad suffered from a scrofulous affection of the leg and it was determined that he should be sent into France to be "touched" by the titular James III. Information on the matter is given by Brett in a letter written to his son Nicholas, then at Angiers, on Nov. 18 O.S. (29 N.S.) 1736. "Tommy" Kennett had been sent into France to be "touched" for the "King's evil," and Brett had sent him a prayer to be used in the interval and had also asked Mr Williamson (Wagstaffe) to look after him. He had also forwarded to his grandson for necessary expenses the sum of £15, which must have been a considerable drain on his slender resources of ready money. It is regrettable that there is no copy preserved of the prayer which Brett composed for his grandson or of the further progress or result of the enterprise. The trend of Brett's opinion on this subject has, however, received sufficient illustration, and it may well be regarded as an extraordinary thing that a man who deservedly held a high place in the "commonwealth of learning" should maintain a strong belief in the healing power of the touch of the "Royal Hand."

¹ College Papers, No. 355. Correspondence of Brett and Campbell.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

As this book is largely based on documents which have never before been printed, it is thought well to submit a few notes on some of the leading features or peculiarities of the various papers from which quotations have been made.

The twenty volumes of the Brett MSS. are arranged as follows: *Vols. I to XII* contain original letters addressed by various correspondents to Thomas Brett at Spring Grove. They are arranged in chronological order and the dates of the letters range from 1685 to 1744. Two letters are added at the end of *Vol. XII* written by Thomas Wagstaffe from Rome to Mrs Blackmore in London in the years 1748 and 1749. This fact in itself is a sufficient proof that Thomas Brett did not personally arrange the papers. There can be little doubt that their arrangement in the present form was made by Nicholas Brett. *Vol. XIII* contains letters written by Thomas Brett to his favourite son, Nicholas, in Angiers, and *Vol. XIV* preserves the letters sent by Nicholas to his father at home. *Vols. XV to XX* contain for the most part copies of letters written by Thomas Brett to many correspondents, but in some cases the original letters have been recovered and inserted in their proper place. These last six volumes are perhaps not of such high value as the earlier half of the collection. In some cases the copies are described as "imperfect," and the arrangement does not appear to have been made with the same careful accuracy as may be perceived in the case of the original letters. There are also valuable notes and records made at various dates both by Thomas and Nicholas Brett.

Three documents which really belong to the Brett MSS. are now in the possession of St John's College, Oxford. They were published in the *Athenaeum* of 8th May 1909 by Dr Hutton, the present Dean of Winchester, but there are certain papers enclosed with the MSS. which have not yet been printed, and a brief description is given of them in this place. There is (1) a four-sided sheet of white notepaper signed by Mr J. Hunter Reid of St John's College, Oxford, and dated December 30th 1856, from which the following extracts are quoted:

The accompanying correspondence and documents supply proof that Dr Rawlinson, the eminent benefactor of St John's College, Antiquarian, and Founder of the Anglo-Saxon Professorship was a Non-Juring bishop. This there had been reason to suspect from the notice of him in Nicholls' *Literary History of the Last Century*, and an extract taken from the London *Evening Mail* towards the year 1748 in which he is called "the mitred Non-Juror"...there was however no tradition preserved in St John's College of Rawlinson's Episcopal or even of his

Sacerdotal character. Requisite proof was kindly furnished by Mr Bowdler....Into his possession had come a very voluminous mass of Non-Juring correspondence obtained, as an extract from his letters shows, on account of the intimate relations of his family with the Non-Jurors.

(2) A four-paged letter on paper with a thick black edge, dated 31st May 1856, and written to Mr Reid by Thomas Bowdler from 2, Onslow Square, Brompton:

I fear I am not likely to supply many, if any particulars, of Dr Rawlinson's life. The fact of his having been consecrated one of the Non-Juring bishops appears in more than one MS. which I have....A pleasing circumstance occurs as an appendage to his consecration, or following soon after it....His being an important party in healing a sad breach among the heads of the Non-Jurors; and I am inclined to forward the original document which you can keep or return as you think fit.

(3) A half sheet of black-edged paper written by Mr Bowdler as before on 11th June 1856. This encloses the letter of Rawlinson to Brett dated 9th April 1732 and quoted on p. 169.

The three documents which are still preserved at St John's College are the letter of Rawlinson referred to above, the original Concordate containing the signatures of the five bishops who adhered to it and the letter of George Smith of 2nd June 1732 confirming the signature made on his behalf by Dr Rawlinson.

The original documents which relate to the story of the English Non-Jurors and are now preserved in Edinburgh are really portions of two main collections. The papers in the Episcopal Chest, upwards of 200 in number, have been carefully catalogued by the Ven. J. B. Craven. "The College Papers" or papers of the "Jolly Kist" have never yet been arranged or catalogued, but it is very desirable that this task should be attempted¹. Among the Episcopal Chest Papers are the original deeds of Consecration of all the Non-Juror bishops of England, with the exception of those of

¹ Eleven folio volumes among these papers afford important information from the English point of view, Nos. 2 to 5 contain the original papers of the correspondence of the Non-Jurors with the Eastern Patriarchs. The volume 6 is a narrow white-covered book and is probably to be identified with the MS. mentioned by Bishop Gordon in a letter written to Forbes, 9th November 1773. "Yes, Sir, there is undoubtedly at Burnhall a most valuable, curious folio MS. collected from the originals by my late brother-in-law, Mr Thomas Bedford. It is invaluable, composed of letters etc. of the greatest men at the fateful period of '88 and several years following" (*Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, pp. 290, 291). The eleventh volume, known as Forbes "College A," was presented by Miss Cheyne to the late Bishop Dowden, and may be identified with the "Folio MS. bound in rough bound leather" mentioned on p. 335 (note) in vol. III of *Lyon in Mourning*.

the irregular line from Campbell in 1733. In both collections there are a considerable number of letters of Orders, originally given by English bishops and superscribed by Non-Juror bishops, and also of Orders originally given by the various bishops of the Non-Juror church.

The question of the history of the disposal of these documents is obscure. It is perhaps not possible to do more than to suggest an explanation which may be regarded as not opposed to certain well-known facts. Thomas Deacon was *registrarius* or Keeper of the Church Records of the Non-Jurors from his ordination in 1716 to 1722 when he left London for Manchester. The relationship in which Deacon stood to Collier was without doubt the cause of this appointment. In 1722 the office was assumed by Thomas Wagstaffe, who held it till his departure to France in 1734. The schism which was made in 1717 had, of course, the effect of restricting any duties which fell to the lot of the *registrarius* to the Usager section of the movement. The records of the consecrations which were made on the other side did not at any time come under the care of either Deacon or Wagstaffe. The probability is that the deeds of consecrations from Bedford and Taylor in 1720 to that of George Smith in 1728 were preserved successively by Gandy, Rawlinson and Gordon. Thomas Wagstaffe, on his departure from England in 1734, consigned his papers, including those which were not his own private property, to the care of Robert Gordon, and at his decease in 1770 finally left them to Gordon to be put to the purpose for which they were intended¹. It is known that in December 1783 the original deeds of consecration of the bishops in England were in the possession of Bishop Petrie, who was then clerk to the Episcopal Synod of Scotland². The conclusion may be advanced that the official papers held at that time by the Scottish bishops were committed to their charge when they assumed the spiritual care of the Remnant, according to the arrangement which had been made in the lifetime of Bishop Gordon. The fact that the resting-place of these documents has now become known is, however, of more importance than any theory as to the possible stages of their journey to the Episcopal Chest in Edinburgh.

The records are inscribed on parchment and are, generally speaking, in good condition and for the most part written in a good legal hand.

The fact that Richard Rawlinson ventured upon the task of printing a number of copies of the new consecrations is sufficiently well known. There are certain cautiously worded references to the subject in the Brett MSS. and in the papers of Thomas Hearne.

¹ See Will of Thomas Wagstaffe, p. 266.

² *Life and Times of John Skinner*, p. 29.

The matter was mentioned by Rawlinson to Brett on the 19th April 1734¹, and on the 13th February in the year following Rawlinson wrote to Hearne that "Cambridge refused a copy of the records relating to the new consecrations a place in their library," and notes "that Baker is very urgent that they should be put in Lord Oxford's hands." The matter was mentioned in a letter written by Bishop Gillan to his colleague Dr Rattray on the 17th May 1734: "I have got the instruments of their first consecrations finely printed in large Lombard papers with the several seals handsomely done in copper plate." Gillan refers to the "distinct account of the original Non-Juror consecrations in 1693," which forms a preface to the collection, and continues, "copies are deposited at both Universities which seems bold enough, especially since C—I and F—n are still alive²."

On the 27th March 1742 Rawlinson wrote to Brett stating that he had all Mr Blackburne's papers. "As all the rest of the admissions are in print I design before I deposit that of Mr Blackburne to commit it to copper³."

Copies of this impression are preserved in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. It should be noted that these copies end with the consecration of Thomas Brett of Sussex in 1727. The consecrations of Rawlinson and Smith are not included in it⁴.

A special interest is attached to the copy which Rawlinson presented to his beloved College of St John the Baptist. It included an inscription which was specially written by Rawlinson as a preface to the volume which he presented to St John's College. The volume itself was destroyed by fire in 1865 but the inscription had fortunately been copied and is here given:

Ne Rerum, occultius licet,
Non tamen sine Teste gestarum,
Pereat Notitia
Serisque Nepotibus Factum tam insigne
Haud innotescat
(Faxit D. O. M. Typis aeternis)
Paucissima Exemplaria
Imprimis curavit

¹ Brett MSS., vol. x, f. 7.

² From MSS. in the College Papers.

³ Brett MSS., vol. xii, f. 201a.

⁴ A few copies are in the possession of Major R. J. K. Mott of Taunton, which came from Spring Grove, one of which was kindly presented to the present writer. These copies may be said to be complete in the sense that they contain an introductory account of the New Consecrations written by Bishop Hickes in 1693, and also copies of all the Consecrations in the regular line to that of Thomas Brett of Sussex 1726. The copies preserved in the Bodleian are imperfect in both these respects.

Cujus summopere interest:
 Et eorum alterum, Beneficii futuri Pignus
 In Praecursoris Collegii Oxon: recondendum
 Optat Archivis:
 Hac vero Lege
 Ne quis unquam extra Bibliothecae Limina
 Extrahere audeat:
 Sed ut ea qua par est, Fide et Cura
 In perpetuam Rei Memoriam conservetur¹.

The writer is greatly indebted to Canon Ollard, who is himself an *alumnus* of the College of the Forerunner, for a remarkably fine translation which runs as follows:

In order that the accurate knowledge of certain events
 Which, although they were done somewhat secretly,
 Yet did not lack a Witness
 May not pass away;
 And for fear that so remarkable a matter
 Should not become known to later generations
 (Almighty God will fashion the record of it, in characters
 that can never fade)
 One whom the matter very specially concerns
 Has been at pains to have printed
 A very few copies of a book,
 And one of them, a pledge of a benefaction to come
 He earnestly desires may be laid up
 Among the Archives
 In the College of the Fore-runner in Oxford
 But with this stipulation
 That no one shall ever dare to take the book
 Outside the doors of the Library,
 But that with such loyalty and care, which is its due
 It shall be preserved as a record of the story
 For Ever.

The phrase *hac vero lege*, is truly characteristic of Richard Rawlinson, than whom no one more delighted in laying down stipulations.

Some description of the Episcopal Seals of the English Non-Jurors will be read with interest. The matrices are the property of the Scottish Church or the bishops. They were deposited for safe keeping by Dr Hannah, Warden of Glenalmond, about the year 1860 in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh².

¹ A similar inscription is prefixed to one of the copies in the Bodleian with the substitution of *In Bodleianis* for *In praecursoris collegii*. This description is declared by experts not to be in the handwriting of Rawlinson.

² The Museum has been closed for seven or eight years owing to reconstruction, and the seals are not therefore on view at the time of writing.

Reproductions of the seals in wax form part of a collection in the Chapter House of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh. The seals are small in size in comparison with those of the English diocesan bishops. The following is a brief description of the devices and mottoes.

GEORGE HICKES: A figure of a shepherd with a crook and the motto *Bonus Pastor*.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL: A tree surmounted by a cross and loaded with weights at the ends of the branches. The inscription is, *Virtus crescit sub Pondere*.

JAMES GADDERAR: Three hands joined at the wrist, one hand carries a crook, the one word *Congrega* serves as a motto.

JEREMY COLLIER: The monogram
EI MH EN



surrounded by
ΤΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ.

SAMUEL HAWES: A cross on wings with the motto, *Versus Coelum*.

NATHANIEL SPINCKES: A somewhat elaborate representation of a shepherd passing through a door with pillars. The motto is *Qui intrat per ostium Pastor est ovium*.

HENRY GANDY: A different representation of a shepherd, with the words
ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΠΟΙΜΗΝΙΩ.

THOMAS BRETT (*of Spring Grove*): A representation of our Lord on the Cross with the wording, *In hoc signo vinces*.

No impression exists of the seal of HILKIAH BEDFORD, but from a casual note made by Rawlinson it appears that the seal of RALPH TAYLOR, who was consecrated at the same time as Bedford, bore the device of crossed keys surmounted with a mitre.

JOHN GRIFFIN: A plain cross with the words:

Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΤΑΙ.

HENRY DOUGHTY appears to have taken over the seal of Samuel Hawes, and in the same way JOHN BLACKBURNE made use of the seal of Bishop Spinckes.

THOMAS BRETT (*of Sussex*): On the only occasion of his taking part in a consecration appears to have borrowed the seal of his namesake of Spring Grove.

RICHARD RAWLINSON: As might be expected, this is not conceived on ordinary lines. The device is a key crossed by a crook, and the wording

ΣΥΛΛΕΓΩ ΚΑΙ ΦΥΛΑΑΣΤΩ,

however appropriate to Rawlinson's strongly developed sentiment of acquisitiveness, is without parallel in the list of episcopal mottoes.

GEORGE SMITH: This is conceived in a somewhat lordly style, in which, as in the case of Rawlinson, there may be recognized a certain amount of appropriateness to the owner. Two crooks are crossed and surmounted by a mitre, surrounded by the words *Rege et pasce gregem*.

TIMOTHY MAWMAN: A female figure prone and pierced with a cross. The motto is *Desiderium meum crucifixum est*. The figure may probably be taken to represent the distressed Church.

There appears to be no record of any use of a seal made by ROBERT GORDON.

The episcopal seals of LAURENCE and DEACON have been described on p. 247. Nothing is known of any of the seals used by the later bishops except from a reference made by BISHOP PRICE in his last Will to an episcopal seal bearing the words *Pax et Amor*.

The original Letters of Orders of Timothy Mawman (deacon 19th May 1706 in Carlisle, and priest 8th June 1707 in Durham), are preserved in the Episcopal Chest (Nos. 1312 and 1313). The latter document is superscribed *J. C. 22nd April 1716*, being the date of Mawman's reception by Collier.

Among the College Papers are Thomas Brett's Letters of Ordination as deacon and priest, both of which bear the initials *G. H.* 1st *July 1715*, when Brett was received by George Hickes, who also initialled in the same way the Letters of Orders of Matthias Earberry on 18th November 1715.

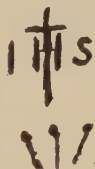
In the same collection are the original letters of the ordination of Gordon to the diaconate by Bishop Spinckes on the 28th July 1727, and of George Smith to the diaconate on the 18th December and to the priesthood on the 22nd December 1728 by Bishop Gandy. The form used by the last-named bishop was simpler and shorter than that employed by Collier at the ordination of Rawlinson.

One document only is preserved of the Letters of Orders given by the bishops of the succession from Archibald Campbell. The original record of the ordination of Thomas Podmore to the diaconate on the 11th September 1748 is in the possession of the Corporation of Manchester¹. In this instrument Thomas Deacon abandoned the use of the Latin tongue and introduced, characteristically enough, some remarks on the Apostolic Constitutions and his own Collection of Devotions.

A silver-gilt chalice and paten exist which, by tradition, are closely connected with the Non-Jurors. They are said to have belonged to Bishop Ken (1637-1711) and to have been given by him to a Non-Juring priest who went out to work in the American Colonies. There, so family tradition says, the story of these vessels became known to Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804), who himself

¹ For a copy of this instrument see *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 157.

went out as a private tutor to Virginia about 1754, and was ordained in 1762 and held in turn the rectories of Hanover in King George's County, St Mary's in Carolina, and St Anne's in Annapolis. Boucher was a strong royalist, and returned to England in 1775, bringing these vessels with him. Later, in 1785, Mr Boucher became vicar of Epsom in Surrey, where John James Watson (1767-1839), later rector of Hackney and Archdeacon of St Albans, was his curate. To Archdeacon Watson Mr Boucher gave the vessels, and they are still carefully preserved in his family. The chalice has for its bowl a "tumbler" or small drinking-cup of the fifteenth century set on a stem of later seventeenth century Dutch workmanship. Round its rim is engraved on the outside as follows: "The Cup of Consolation, Jerem. 16. v. 7. Let me drink, I pray thee. Gen. 24. v. 17." The paten, which appears to be of seventeenth-century Dutch workmanship, when reversed fits over the chalice as a cover. It is mounted on a low base at the foot of which is engraved the sacred monogram with a cross and three nails. The paten is inscribed: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover." Luke 22. v. 15.



Neither chalice nor paten bears any mark of assay, and it is believed that Bishop Ken had these made while he was at the Hague, where he resided as Chaplain to Princess Mary (sister of Charles II) in 1679 and 1680. The tradition is that he gave them to a chaplain of his, who after his death, went out as a Non-Juror to America. It has been assumed that this points either to Richard Welton or more probably to John Talbot, but it should be noted that there is no evidence that either of these men acted as chaplain to Bishop Ken.

The story of the vessels from Jonathan Boucher is perfectly well known. Archdeacon Watson (d. 1839) left them to his son, J. D. Watson, rector of Guilsborough, who in his turn left them to his son, John Sikes Watson (d. 1906), by whom they were given to his daughter, Mrs Boys, of St Mary Bourne, Hants, their present owner. There is no documentary evidence handed down with the vessels to tell their story, but their history, as related above, has been carefully preserved in the family of Archdeacon J. J. Watson.

An account of some relics of Deacon or of his immediate followers will suitably conclude this Appendix. The following relics are at present in the possession of the Society of St John the Evangelist, Marston Street, Oxford. They are four in number.

- (1) A pocket Communion Service.
- (2) A copy of Deacon's *Complete Devotions* with copious marginal remarks by the author.
- (3) A very curious MS. copy of an order for private Communion.
- (4) The head of a pastoral staff.

The first three of these articles were presented to the Society from one and the same source, and their history is fairly clear. They were, in the first place, bought of a dealer in antiques in Manchester by the Rev. J. E. Sedgwick, the founder of St Alban's Church, Cheetwood, Manchester, but neither the name of the dealer nor the date of the sale can now be traced. They came, however, into the possession of the late Rev. J. L. Fish, rector of St Margaret Pattens, in the City of London. Letters of interest which passed between Mr Fish and an official of the Bodleian Library as regards Deacon's handwriting are preserved with these relics. At the time when Mr Sedgwick made the purchase of these articles the lot was described as "an ancient medicine chest with certain documents." The box containing the sacred vessels is of plain wood and marked on the outside with a large cross. It is in appearance similar to a pocket medicine chest commonly used by the profession. The vessels are all of glass and consist of paten, chalice and quasi-flagon, together with what may be called a chalice veil marked with five small crosses as emblems of the wounds of Christ. The copy of the *Devotions* with the author's marginal notes is principally of interest as showing the extraordinary erudition manifested in the preparation of the work. The little MS. copy of an order for private Communion is curious. It is in the form of a small exercise book or note-book and is in the handwriting of some person not very skilled in the exercise. It is not improbable that this little book of Devotion may have belonged at one time to a member of Thomas Deacon's family.

As to the pastoral staff which now forms part of the same collection, it has not been found possible to ascertain the source from which it was immediately obtained. It is a cheap production in wood and gilt and is affixed to a stout piece of cardboard on which the auctioneer's number still remains and the words "The pastoral staff of the last Non-Juring Bishop." The reader may refer to the portrait of Thomas Deacon which forms the frontispiece of his *Biography* by the present writer. The staff which Deacon holds in his left hand bears a general resemblance to the head of the staff now preserved at Cowley. There are references to a certain pastoral staff in a letter from a Mr Jesse Lee to Mr Parry of Manchester. It is not made perfectly clear that Mr Lee is referring to the same staff which is now at Cowley, but the information may, at any rate, be recorded.

After the death of Bishop Booth the pastoral staff or crook remained in the hands of his brother, Mr James Bowker Booth, in this town, Watchmaker, who deposited it in the Masonic Lodge No. 507...the crook being carved in wood and liable to be broken was given by the members of the Lodge to me then their Secretary. I got the same

repaired and on 7th December 1825 I presented it to the late John Crossley, Esq., Provincial Grand Master of the Eastern Division of Lancaster, and it is now in the possession of his son, safely deposited in the Museum at Scaitcliffe, nr Todmorden¹.

Mention may be made of a fine pair of portraits of Thomas Deacon and his wife which were painted by Kneller at the time of their marriage in 1719. The portraits were till lately in the possession of Miss Mary Deacon, great-great-granddaughter of Humphrey Hierophilus Deacon, and have always been regarded as family treasures. The portrait reveals Deacon as a man in the pride of his youth and gives a lively impression of the "boy priest" who was a thorn in the side of the opponents of the Usages in the far away days of 1716 to 1720.

Finally, there are here given some extracts of a correspondence between Charles Clement Deacon and his father². These papers were in the possession of Miss Mary Deacon and have been placed at the disposal of the writer through the good offices of Mr H. P. K. Skipton. It is proposed to deposit them in the library of Chetham College, Manchester, where some few manuscripts relating to Thomas Deacon are already to be found.

*Extract of a Letter from MR CHARLES CLEMENT DEACON
to HIS FATHER, dated Southwark, 30th May 1747*

In short, there is nothing for it but Patience and a good stock I assure you one need to have. However, it has given me a full opportunity of seeing more of the downright wickedness of the world, than might have happened had I lived 1000 years, and which I hope will come to be of the greatest use to me hereafter. I have been now for these 17 months among a gang of the most execrable Villains just now upon earth; sufficiently grounded in all manner and sort of Wickedness; as far remote from the least glimpse of Christianity, Honesty, nay even common humanity itself, as Black is from White; domineered and lorded over by a pack of the lowest kidney of Bum Bailiffs, cheated out of one's very teeth; in short, used more shamefully than ever I could have thought, had I not been an eye-witness of it myself. High-way-men, Foot-pads, or the worst set of the world are nothing to the creatures I have been continually with; but what can be expected? If the Tree is corrupt, the Fruit must be so. However, I can have the vanity to say with truth, that if there has been one used worse than another, from the beginning down to the present moment, it has been myself; yet

¹ Mr J. C. Booth, of Manchester, a direct descendant of Mr James Bowker Booth, has kindly made search among masonic records but can find no trace of the disposal of this staff. It could not, of course, be regarded as a masonic emblem, and was probably only deposited for safe custody.

² The full story of the partially successful efforts made by John Byrom to save this unfortunate lad have been told by the present writer in the *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, p. 122 et seq.

I am still alive in good health and spirits and just in the same opinion and resolution as I was the first day.

Extract of a Letter from MR CHARLES CLEMENT DEACON to his brother HUMPHREY, dated Southwark, 10th January 1748/49

I shall go on board the Prince George, Captain Nairne, to-morrow below Gravesend. Thank God I am at last going to leave this most horrid abominable, scandalous place. When I am gone, which will be very soon now, you will, Numpy, be, one may fairly say, the eldest Son of your Father; Oh may you be, by your behaviour, an honour to your family. I hope there is no danger of it, as I am confident you don't want for sense, if you will make a proper use of it. Don't be dismayed at one or two dropping; there are enow left to fill up the Ranks. And the best Generals find it necessary sometimes to throw away a few lives; a Word to the Wise is sufficient.

These two extracts are found in the form of copies made by Thomas Deacon himself, but the following is an extract from an original letter of Charles Deacon. It appears to bear no date, but was received in Manchester on the 2nd June 1749.

Hond. Sir,

I hope you have my letter which I sent you from the Downs and this will find you all well....I am I thank God in perfect Health and have been so since I wrote to you last, excepting a little Sea Sickness. It is now Good Friday; we sailed from the Downs upon the 26th of last January and for the first three weeks or month we had as bad Weather as can be imagined....The first time we saw land was about two of the Clock last Wednesday Afternoon was sevensnight being the 15th inst. and the next day landed between twelve and one o'clock. I have been here nine Days and as it never was my scheme to continue here but to go down to Jamaica the packet arrived here yesterday in which I propose to take my passage...and hope to be in Jamaica some time the Week after next....You may possibly expect that I should say something about the Heat. Give me leave to assure you that that is the least Article in a Thousand; excepting about 3 or 4 Hours in the Middle of the Day, it is little more than a warm Summer's Day in England, for there is constantly a cool refreshing breeze; it is as I expected a very extravagant place; you won't dine for less than 4/6d. of this money which is about 2/10d. sterling; 3/6d. every Night for a Bed; that is an Article I have nothing to do with...I ought not to forget to tell you that Captain Nairne with whom we came has behaved to us in the genteelest Manner; I suppose your Peace will be soon proclaimed; I hope it won't be long before I receive a Line from you and that you will be so good as to send me at the same time all your news...I suppose the trifles which my poor Brother desired might be sent by Way of Remembrance are long since come safe to hand, for I desired Mr L. the last time I saw him would call upon my uncle about them. I must desire you to remember me in

the kindest manner to all at home and all enquiring Friends; pray God bless you with all Health and Happiness and be assured of my being Hond. Sir,

Your Most Dutiful Son

and Obedient Humble Servant,

C. C. DEACON.

The next extract is the copy of a letter written by the Rev. George Cheyne, Chaplain in Kingston in Jamaica, apparently to the Rev. James Linfield in London. It is dated 29th April 1749:

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Mr Charles Clement Deacon, whom no doubt you knew too well to require a more particular description, arrived in this Island from England by the way of Antigua the 15th current and had not been but ten days here when it pleased God to take him I trust to Himself after four days illness of a violent Distemper which is called here the Yellow Fever and proves generally fatal to the Patient. After the Trials of this kind already, enough surely to break any heart not fortified with an extraordinary degree of Resignation to the Divine Will, this must certainly prove heavy to the worthy tender Parent whom I have not courage to trouble with a Letter on so melancholy a subject especially as I am entirely unknown to him and therefore beg you will take the most prudent way of informing him. It was only the day before he sickened that I knew him but we were well enough acquainted and my regard was too great both for his father and himself not to be as constantly about him as possible from the beginning of his illness; the two last days I stayed with him night and day; as this is a place of such indifference as one that has no particular friend to take care of them may die merely through neglect. But his Relations may be assured that this was not the case with him for I called the ablest physician in the place and administered most of his prescriptions with my own hands....But all would not do and an All-wise God thought fit to dispose of him otherwise and infinitely more I hope to his advantage;...It may likewise perhaps be no uncomfortable circumstance to his good Father that he was attended during the time of his Sickness by one who would wish to approve himself a faithful Son of the Church....I am afraid there can be little if anything expected to remain yet whatever it is his friends may depend upon a just account, but yet I have not had time to look into them and so cannot form the least judgment only I find he has a well chosen Collection of Books, but the more valuable they are of themselves, you will easily believe they will be so much the less value here. As for his Papers I am heartily glad they have fallen into no other hands, as they would either have been destroyed or made a bad use of; but to me they are of great value and if his Father should desire it they shall be most readily restored....He particularly mentioned a ring to one Mrs Pierce, a lady who (by some letters I received yesterday from

his Father, Uncle and other people) I believe lives in Manchester as you know his Father does; a sett of Buckles he likewise spoke of to his Father and I am told he has likewise a gold watch but did not mention it himself....I should have esteemed it a peculiar Blessing if it had pleased God to have preserved this young Man who is the melancholy subject of the above, as I have reason to believe had he been near me I would have been happy in such a friend as I wish.

Your very affectionate humble servant,

GEORGE CHEYNE.

Extract of a Letter from the REV. JAMES LINFIELD
(apparently to Thomas Deacon himself)

The melancholy News of my Dear Charlie's Death, a few days after I had received a Letter from him, was a terrible Shock to me at first but now I can thank and praise God for his happy Change and acknowledge it an act of great mercy and favour towards him. Sure I am no one of his age or much superior to him in years did ever leave his friends and native country with a more resigned Heroick mind, or with more vertuous disposition than he did. I never can forget (for it always gives me pleasure to think of) his own request to communicate the day before he sailed (viz. Tuesday, January 10th) notwithstanding he had so done the preceding Sunday and indeed constantly every Sunday and Holy Day. Dear Happy Soul!...pardon me, Sir, my heart is too full to proceed on this subject. But let me not forget that God is always wise and good, just and merciful in all his dispensations; and that whatever He appoint or permits is most certainly best for us. Therefore to Him be glory, thanks and praise for this and all His doings.

APPENDIX IV

A COMPLETE REGISTER OF NON-JUROR CONSECRATIONS

The name of HENRY DOUGHTY, who was consecrated in Scotland, is of course included in this list, and so also are the names of ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL and JAMES GADDERAR, who, although technically Scottish bishops, may be reckoned as links in the chain of the English succession.

Date	Name of Bishop	Names of Consecrators	Place	Authority
24th Feb. 1693/94, St Matthias	GEORGE HICKES, D.D. THOS. WAGSTAFFE, M.A.	Wm. Lloyd, deprived Bishop of Norwich Francis Turner, deprived Bishop of Ely Thos. White, deprived Bishop of Peterborough	Bp of Peterborough's lodgings at the Rev. Mr W. Giffard's house in Middlesex	Original deed in Episcopal Safe, Edinburgh. Rawlinson's printed Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record (vol. xix, ff. 101 <i>et seq.</i>)
24th Aug. 1711, St Bartholomew	ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL	Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane John Falconar	Dundee	Original deed in Episcopal Safe. Brett's MS. record
24th Feb. 1712/13, St Matthias	JAMES GADDERAR, M.A.	George Hickes John Falconar Archibald Campbell	Bishop Hickes' Oratory in Ormonde St., London	Original deed in Episcopal Safe. Brett's MS. record
14th May 1713, Feast of the Ascension	JEREMIAH COLLIER, M.A. SAMUEL HAWES, M.A. NATHANIEL SPINCKES, M.A.	George Hickes Archibald Campbell James Gadderar	Bishop Hickes' Oratory in Ormonde St., London	Original deed in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
25th Jan. 1715/16, Conversion of St Paul	HENRY GANDY, M.A. THOS. BRETT, LL.D.	Jeremiah Collier Samuel Hawes Nathaniel Spinckes	Mr Gandy's Chapel in Scroop's Court in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
25th Jan. 1720/21, Conversion of St Paul	RALPH TAYLOR, D.D. HILKIAH BEDFORD, M.A.	Samuel Hawes Nathaniel Spinckes Henry Gandy	Dr Rawlinson's Oratory in Gray's Inn, London	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record

Date	Name of Bishop	Names of Consecrators	Place	Authority
1722	ROBERT WELTON, D.D. JOHN TALBOT, M.A.	Ralph Taylor (<i>solus</i>)	Not known	Rawlinson's MS. record. Brett's MS. record
25th Nov. 1722, 27th Sun. after Trinity	JOHN GRIFFIN, M.A.	Jeremiah Collier Archibald Campbell Thos. Brett	Mr Collier's Oratory in Red Lion Street, Holborn	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
30th March 1725	HENRY DOUGHTY	John Fullerton, Bishop of Edinburgh Arthur Miller Wm Irwine David Freebairn	Bishop of Edinburgh's private chapel	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
6th May 1725, Feast of the Ascension	JOHN BLACKBURNE, M.A.	Nathaniel Spinckes Henry Gandy Henry Doughty	Mr Blackburne's chapel in Gray's Inn	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
11th June 1725, St Barnabas	HENRY HALL	Nathaniel Spinckes Henry Gandy Henry Doughty	Mr Blackburne's chapel	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
9th April 1727, 1st Sun. after Easter	THOS. BRETT, M.A.	Thos. Brett John Griffin Archibald Campbell	Mr Campbell's house in Marylebone, Prince's St., Cavendish Square	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's Apog. Consc. Brett's MS. record
25th March 1728, Annunciation of Our Lady	RICHARD RAWLINSON, D.C.L. (described as LL.D.)	Henry Gandy Henry Doughty John Blackburne	Mr Gandy's chapel in Scoop's Court	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's MS. record with the name represented by asterisks. Brett's MS. record
26th Dec. 1728, St Stephen	GEORGE SMITH	Henry Gandy John Blackburne Richard Rawlinson	Mr Gandy's chapel in Scoop's Court	Original deeds in Episcopal Safe. Rawlinson's MS. record with the name represented by asterisks. Brett's MS. record
1733	ROGER LAURENCE, M.A.	Archibald Campbell (<i>solus</i>)	Not known	Rawlinson's MS. record. Let- ter in Brett MSS.: Wagstaffe to Brett, 28th Feb. 1733/34

Date	Name of Bishop	Names of Consecrators	Place	Authority
1733	THOMAS DEACON	Archibald Campbell Roger Laurence	Not known	Letter in Brett MSS.; Rawlinson to Brett, 25th Apr. 1734. Add. MSS. D. 30: Cartwright to Boucher, 23rd Apr. 1785; Cartwright to Bishop of Carlisle, 19th June 1789. Deacon's <i>Injunction</i> , 1748
17th July 1737	TIMOTHY MAWMAN, M.A.	Thomas Brett, LL.D. George Smith Thomas Brett, M.A.	Mr Gordon's Oratory in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn	Original deed in Episcopal Safe. Letters in Brett MSS.: Gordon to Brett, 5th July 1737; Mrs Blackmore to Brett, 29th July 1737
11th July 1741, St Barnabas	ROBERT GORDON	Thomas Brett George Smith Timothy Mawman	Dr Brett's house at Spring Grove, near Ashford	Original deed in Episcopal Safe. Letter in Brett MSS.: Thomas Brett to Nicholas Brett, 18th June 1741
8th Mar. 1751/52	KENRICK PRICE, 1790	Thomas Deacon (<i>solus</i>)	Manchester	Letter in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , Sept. 1792, p. 808.
Not known	PHILIP JOHNSTON BROWN + 1792	Kenrick Price (<i>solus</i>)	Manchester	Letter in College Papers: Bishop Brown to Bishop Alexander, 18th Feb. 1762
4th Nov. 1781	WM CARTWRIGHT + 1799	Kenrick Price (<i>solus</i>)	Shrewsbury	Letter in Add. MSS. D. 30: Cartwright to Bishop of Carlisle, 30th June 1789
28th Aug. (?) 1795	THOMAS GARNETT	William Cartwright (<i>solus</i>)	Manchester	Letter in Add. MSS. D. 30: Cartwright to Boucher, 24th August 1795
Not known	CHARLES BOOTH + 1805	Thomas Garnett	Manchester	Evidence very uncertain. See Letter in Add. MSS. D. 30: Mr Jesse Lee to Mr Parry, 1837

The alleged consecration of Dr Timothy Newmarsh on 29th May 1726 (see Overton, p. 350) rests on no foundation and may safely be dismissed as a pure invention. The consecration is said to have been performed by Bishops Hall and Welton. Welton was on his return to Lisbon on the date mentioned, and there is a strong probability that Hall was in Madrid in the service of the Duke of Ormonde as chaplain.

INDEX

- ABJURATION OATH**, the, 20, 34
Acts of Uniformity, 50
Alexander, John (Bishop), 254, 256, 257, 258, 259
Angers, Non-Juror Chaplaincy at, 156
Anne, Queen, death of, 23
Apostolic Constitutions, Wagstaff's estimate, 201
Articles, XXXIX
 Deacon's protest, 129
 Collier's standpoint, 129
 Brett's interpretation, 197
 Subscription demanded by Blackburne, 116
 Subscription made by Rawlinson, 118
Atterbury, Francis
 Bishop of Rochester, 3
 Letter to Dr Brett, 21
 Consulted about healing Non-Juror divisions, 101, 146
BAKER, THOMAS, 317
Bedford, Hilkiah (Bishop), 309
 Correspondence with Dr Brett, 55
 Consecration, 88
 Death, 96
Bedford, Thomas
 Ordination, 157
 Chaplain to Cotton family, 156, 157
 Returns to England, 211
 Accepts charge at Ashbourne, 233, 238
 Death and last will, 233
Bell, Thomas (Vicar of Askham), 3, 309
 Ridicules authority of Primus, 36
 His protest at Conference in 1716, 46
 Breaks Montgomery's congregation, 51
Blackburne, John (Bishop), 88, 309
 Consecration, 101
 Correspondence with Dr Brett, 116
 Joins in Re-Union proposals, 121
 Later attitude, 133
 His position defined, 159
 Sets up separate communion, 174
 Charges Dr Brett with disloyalty, 179, 180
 Interview with Bp G. Smith, 210
 Death, 224
 Last will, 225
Blackmore, Mrs, 188
 Correspondence with Dr Brett, 208, 209, 210-14
Booth, Charles (Bishop), 289
Boucher, Jonathan, 283, 299
Bowdler, Thomas (the elder, of the Admiralty), 2, 154, 155, 162, 309
 Death, 229
Bowdler, Thomas (of Bath), 267, 309
 Marriage, 232
 Condemns Bp Smith's Erastianism, 247
 His provision for Non-Juring worship, 267
 Correspondence with Bp Forbes, 271-3
 Answers N. Brett's *Considerations*, 271
 Death and last will, 279
Bowdler, John, xix, 232, 237, 267, 282, 306, 309
 Attends Bp Gordon in last illness, 275
 His connection with the English Church, 295
Bowdler, Thomas (the younger), 267, 268, 309
Bowdler, Thomas (Prebendary of St Paul's), xix, 305, 309
Brett, Nicholas
 Chaplain to Sir R. Cotton at Angers, 211
 Ordained priest by Bp Rawlinson, 211-12
 Marriage, 237
 Publishes *Considerations*, 7, 268
 Suggested consecration, 270
 Death, 273
Brett, Thomas (of Spring Grove, Bishop)
 Autobiographical details, 18 *et seq.*
 Financial circumstances, 28
 Preaches before Queen Anne, 20-21
 Sermon on absolution, 21
 Defeated in elections for Proctor, 22
 Last sermon in Church of England, 23
 Goes into lay-communion, 25
 "Received" by Bp Hickee, 25-27
 Resigns livings, 26
 Refutes charges of Popery, 28
 Consecration, 29
 Reports his work to the Primus, 50, 51
 Plans for reconciliation in 1717, 53
 Criticises English Liturgy, 54, 76

Brett, Thomas (*contd.*)

- Signs injunction of 1717, 61
- Criticises Collier in 1721, 86
- Desires to go abroad, 91
- Re-opens negotiations for Re-Union in 1726, 107, 114
- Regrets compilation of New Communion Office, 115 n.
- Further change of opinion, 137
- Abandons "public" mixture, 146
- Authorises partial Communion with "our old friends," 155
- Correspondence with Creyk and Lindsay, 157
- Formally promises to abandon New Office, 164
- Signs Concordate, 171
- Definition of a "trimming" Church, 175
- Consecrates Mawman, 209
- Consecrates Gordon, 224
- Death and last will, 234
- Writings:*
- Record of Non-Juring consecrations, 10
- Church government, 19
- Lutheran principles, 24
- MS. account of Non-Juror controversies, 29, 30, 38
- Ancient Liturgies, 41, 74
- Tradition, 74, 75
- Catholic Unity on Catholic Principles, 102, 200
- Great Necessities of Public Worship, 176
- Answer to Hoadly, 205
- Answer to Waterland, 212

Letters to:

- H. Bedford, 55
- T. Bell, 52, 76
- N. Brett, 194, 209, 213, 224, 234
- A. Campbell, 91, 92, 93, 97, 134, 175, 204, 211, 212
- L. Carrick, 92
- J. Cotton, 223
- J. Creyk, 157, 234
- J. Collier, 53, 58, 86, 93
- Sir R. Cox, 69, 321, 325
- T. Deacon, 73, 128, 129
- H. Doughty, 35
- J. Gadderar, 104, 181
- H. Gandy, 108, 114, 142, 173, 180
- Baron Gilbert, 92
- R. Gordon, 157, 217
- J. Griffin, 137
- Dr Hanby, 136
- S. Hawes, 54
- J. Johnson, 76
- W. Law, 163
- J. Lindsay, 158

Brett, Thomas (*contd.*)

- T. Mawman, 102
- R. Rawlinson, 207, 216
- G. Smith, 31, 125, 141, 154, 197
- N. Spinckes, 107
- T. Wagstaffe, 113, 115 n., 117, 165, 181, 219
- C. Wheatly, 70, 96
- Brett MSS., details of, xiii, xvii *et seq.*, 336, 337
- Brett, Thomas (of Sussex, Bishop), 309
- "Nolo episcopari," 112
- Consecration, 113
- Administers confirmation in London, 114
- Declines to agree with his namesake, 151
- Signs Concordate, 171
- Joins in consecration of Mawman, 209
- Death, 229
- Letters to:*
- Dr Brett (Spring Grove), 112, 113, 115, 131, 146, 151, 208
- T. Wagstaffe, 151
- R. Laurence, 152
- Brown, James (of Montrose), 280, 281
- Brown, Philip (Bishop), 256
- His relation to the house of Annandale, 256
- Letters to Bp Alexander, 259, 260
- Death, 277
- Burden, Roland, 120, 310
- Burnet, Gilbert (Bishop), 3

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD (Bishop)

- Offered a see in England, 13
- Consecration, 11
- Marriage, 12
- Elected Bishop of Aberdeen, 12
- Estimate of his character, 13
- Urges reform of the Liturgy, 44
- Acts as clerk to the Conference of 1716, 45
- Attitude to the Usages, 49
- His *Middle State*, criticised by the Usagers, 73
- Nominates Gadderar to the see of Aberdeen, 94
- Ridicules Bishop Doughty, 100
- Criticises Brett's scheme of Re-Union, 130
- Agreement with Laurence, 139
- Formal protest to Dr Brett, 148
- His position in 1732 defined, 174
- Begs assistance of Bp Rattray, 185
- Consecrates two bishops (*solus*), 185
- Conducts ordination for the New Communion, 239 n.

- Campbell, Archibald (*contd.*)
 Connection with a Religious Society,
 xiii, 322
 Death, 235
 Last will, 236
Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 27, 29, 36, 92, 93, 97, 100,
 114, 130, 134, 174, 200, 202, 215
 "The College Bishops," 13
 J. Falconar, 78
 T. Rattray, 185
 Cannon, Robert (Archdeacon), 21
 Carrick, Lee, 310
 Carte, Thomas, 310
 Messenger to the "Landlord," 226
 Cartwright, William (Bishop), 257, 263
 Removes to Shrewsbury, 277
 Consecration, 279
 Ordains T. Garnett, 287
 Consecrates T. Garnett, 287
Correspondence with:
 Jonathan Boucher, 283
 Bp of Carlisle, 286, 287
 Death and last will, 288
 Charles III (Prince Charlie), death of,
 284
 Chishull, Edmund (Vicar of Waltham-
 stow), 33
 Churton, Edward (Archdeacon), xvii
 Clapham Sect, the, 306
 Clapton Phalanx, the, 299
 Clark, John
 Early career, 117
 Settles in London, 117
 Joins in petition to Bp Rattray, 184
 Extraordinary letter to Rawlinson,
 186
 Collier, Jeremy (Bishop), 1
 Consecration, 14
 His pseudonym, 14
 Serves chapel in Broad Street, 14
 Consecrates Brett and Gandy, 29
 His "use" in 1716, 29
 Elected Primus, 35
 Second marriage, 36
 Desires to restore Usages, 40
 Conservative attitude, 49
 Begins publication of Tracts, 57
 Summons the bishops to Thavies
 Inn, 60
 Signs Injunction of 1717, 61
 Attitude to Scottish scheme of Re-
 Union, 85
 Publishes the "Canon of 1721," 86
 Death, 104
 Reported change of his opinions, 104
 Estimate of character, 105
Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 57, 73, 74, 82, 102, 104
 Bp Rose, 38
 Collier, Mrs Cecilia, 36, 37
 Interferes in Church government,
 111
 Conacher, John, 263
 Cook, Shadrach, 7
 Copeland, William John, 303, 304, 305
 Cotton, Sir Robert, 88, 156, 230
 Breaks up establishment at Angers,
 230
 Settles at Steeple Gidding, 230
 Cotton, Sir John, 310
 Views on Re-Union, 86, 87, 146, 156
 Consulted about consecration of
 Gordon, 223
 Condemns Bp Smith's Erastianism,
 247
 Cox, Sir R. (Lord Chancellor of
 Ireland), 69, 321
 Creyk, John, 101, 108, 225, 231
 Demands submission on the part of
 Dr Brett, 166
 DEACON, THOMAS (Bishop), 36, 37,
 40, 311
 Relations with Bp Hickee, 37
 Ordination, 37
 His part in compilation of New
 Communion Office, 67
 Marriage, 97
 Criticises English Liturgy, 66
 Settles in Manchester, 98
 Views on catechising, 328
 Views on confirmation, 138
 Protests against union with the
 Church of England, 128, 129
 Urges Rattray to consecrate
 Laurence, 184
 Consecrated by Campbell, 185
 Injunction to use Clementine
 Liturgy, 202, 252
 Assumes care of London congrega-
 tions, 239
 Consecrates Kenrick Price, 253
 Death, 254
 Relics, 344
Writings:
 Purgatory, 72
Compleat Devotions, 199
 Publication and reception of *Com-
 pleat Devotions*, 199-200
 Charges of Arianism in *Compleat
 Devotions*, 202
 Comprehensive view, 251
Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 43, 66, 76, 97, 98, 128,
 129, 138
 T. Rattray, 184
 J. Griffin, 106
 Deacon, Charles Clement, letters of,
 345, 347

- Deacon, Miss Mary, family papers, xiii, 98
- Dodwell, Henry, *Case in View*, etc., I, 25, 268
- Doughty, Henry (Bishop), 40, 46, 311
 Buries Bishop Hawes, 96
 Consecrated in Scotland, 99
 Death, 100
- EARBERRY, MATTHIAS, 40, 311
 Death, 229
 Episcopal seals, 204, 341, 342
 Episcopal succession, reason for maintaining, 87
- FALCONAR, JOHN (Bishop), 80
 Joins in consecration in England, 11
 Attitude to English disputes, 82
- Fleetwood, William (Bishop of St Asaph and Ely), 16
- Foley, R., 4, 27
- Forbes, Robert (Bishop)
 Consecration, 261
 Journey to London in 1764, 262-5
 Correspondence with Bp Gordon, 265, 271, 272
- Fothergill, William (of Newcastle)
 Ordained deacon, 136
 Ordained priest, 140 n.
- Froude, Hurrell, 302
- Fullerton, John (Bishop), 80
- Fyffe, David (Scottish Presbyter), deposed, 242
- GADDERAR JAMES (Bishop)
 Consecration, 11
 Becomes Bp of Aberdeen, 94, 95
 Signs Concordate with Scottish Bishops, 95
- Gandy, Henry (Bishop), 88, 312
 Consecration, 29
 Relations to the "Public Communion," 38
 His attitude to the Usages, 50
 Rejects advance from Bp Brett in 1727, 115
 Signs Concordate, 171
 His views on "Vestments," 190
 Death, 190
 Last will, 191
Letters to:
 J. Collier, 60
 T. Brett, 115
 J. Blackburne, 179
- Garnett, Thomas (Bishop), 287
 Ordination and consecration, 287
 Conducts propaganda work in Manchester, 288
- Gidding, Little, and the Non-Jurors, 230, 232
- Gilbert, Baron Geoffrey, 24, 92
- Gillan (Bishop)
 Consecration, 182
 Letter to Bp Smith, 183
- Gordon, Robert (Bishop), 117
 Early life and ordination, 119
 Attacks factious presbyters, 160
 Ceases work as press corrector, 209
 Opens new chapel, 209
 Question of his consecration, 221
 Details of his consecration (1741), 224
 Criticises Bp Smith's interference in Scottish affairs, 247
 Refuses to assist factious presbyters in Scotland, 256
 His later "use" in Divine Service, 264
 Repudiates policy of Nicholas Brett, 271
 Commends his flock to care of the Scottish bishops, 273, 275
 Death, 275
 Last will, 276
Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 159, 217, 224, 226
 Bp Forbes, 272
- Greek Church, negotiations with, 30 *et seq.*
- Griffin, John (Bishop)
 Reception into Non-Jurors' Communion, 312
 Consecration, 93, 94
 Visits Dr Brett at Spring Grove, 1726, 108
 Accepts charge at Newcastle, 120
 Receives proposals for Re-Union, 121
 His views on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, 130
 Leaves Newcastle, 138
 Administers confirmation in Manchester, 138
 Formal protest against Concordate, 1731, 147
 Attitude to the Church of England, 141
 Death, 150
 Estimate of character, 151
Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 108, 111, 114, 120-2, 130, 135, 138, 150
 W. Fothergill, 138
 T. Wagstaffe, 138
- HALL, HENRY (Bishop), 312
 Consecration, 101
 Letter to Dr Brett, 116
 Death, 101, 139

- Hall, Joseph, 101
Hall, Thomas, 46, 312
Hamilton, Dr Robert, 298, 299
Hanby, Dr (of Newcastle), 135-7
Hart, Edward, 312
Hawes, Samuel (Bishop)
 Consecration, 14
 Present at Second Conference (1716), 46
 Attitude to the Usages, 50
 Correspondence with Dr Brett, 54, 55
 Consecrates Bedford and Taylor, 87, 88
 Death, 95
Hearne, Thomas, 317
Hickes, George, 1, 3
 His clear purpose of continuing the succession, 6, 9, 10
 Consecrates three bishops in 1713, 14
 His use of First Liturgy of Edward VI, 40-43
 Summary of his practice, 44
 Death, 29
 Influence of his writings, 3, 5, 296
 Letters to:
 T. Brett, 23
 Charles Leslie, 9
 Bp Ken, 6
 R. Nelson, 7
 Bp T. Wagstaffe, 8
Hoadly (Bishop), 63, 204
Horne, George (Bishop of Norwich), 295
Howell, Laurence, 46, 312
- IRWINE, WILLIAM (Bishop)
 Represents Spinckes in Scotland, 80
 Letter to Spinckes, 95
- JACOBITISM
 In the diocese of London, 4
 Abandoned by Scottish Non-Jurors, 285
James II and III and Non-Juror Bishops, 10
James III (Chevalier)
 Connection with Queen Anne's bounty, 2
 A personal statement of policy, 218
 Negotiations of Non-Juror Bishops with, 227
Jebb, John (Bishop), 301
Jebb, Samuel, 313
 Connection with the Greek Negotiations, 33
 Ordination, 37, 313
 Acts as Collier's librarian, 104
Jebb, Samuel (*contd.*)
 Reproved by Bp Brett for negligence, 111
Johnson, John (of Cranbrook), 4, 5
 Letter to Dr Brett, 22
 His opinion of the New Office, 70
Jones, William (of Nayland), 295
- KEITH, ROBERT (Bishop)
 Letter to Rattray, on Doughty's consecration, 99
 Consecration, 99, 181
 Controversy with Bp Smith, 246
Kenn, Thomas (Bishop of Bath and Wells)
 Desires end of schism, 1
 Correspondence with Bp Hickes, 6
Knox, Alexander, 301
 Defence of Brett against Waterland, 214 n.
- LAURENCE, ROGER (Bishop), 15
 Receives degree from University of Oxford, 17
 Ordination, 17
 Presents the "petition" of 1716, 39
 Objects to Scottish scheme of conciliation (1721), 86
 Attacks proposed Concordate (1731), 131
 Publishes his *Indispensable Obligation*, 174
 Consecration, 185
 Death, 203
 Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 23, 24, 27, 29, 52, 86 n., 327, 331
- LAW, WILLIAM, 101, 313
 His attitude to the Usages, 40 n., 154
 Three Letters to the Bp of Bangor, 63
 Ordained priest, 313
 "Penman" of the "representation" of presbyters, 154
 Criticised by George Smith, 159
 Submits proposals for peace, 160
 Transfers negotiations to Rawlinson, 164
 Further change of opinion, 167
 Answer to Hoadly's *Plain Account*, 205
 Statement of his ecclesiastical position, 217
 Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 164
 R. Rawlinson, 162, 198
 G. Smith, 154
Lay Baptism, proceedings in convocation, 16
Laymen's paper (1731), 156

Leak, John, 46, 313
 Lee, Francis, 317
 Legacies to Non-Jurors, 195-6
 Leslie, Charles, 1
 Relations with Bp Burnet, 2
 Relations with Dr Higden, 7
 Relations with Bp Hickes, 9
 Lethieullier, family of, 15
 Letters of Orders (original), 342
 Lewis, John (Vicar of Margate), 3,
 32
 Lindsay, John, 153, 313
 Ordination, 37
 Disqualified for Chaplaincy at
 Angers, 156
 States position of disaffected
 presbyters, 158
 Takes charge of Blackburne's con-
 gregation, 226
 Liturgies —
 Clementine, 41, 42
 *Ancient Liturgy of Church of Jeru-
 salem*, Bp Rattray's edition, 238
 First of Edward VI, 40, 41, 61
 First of Edward VI contrasted with
 the Clementine, 42
 Second of Edward VI condemned
 by the Non-Jurors, 41
 Dr Brett's last letter on, 234
 Lowthian, presbyter in Newcastle, 141
 Lyon, Robert
 Chaplain to Sir J. Cotton, 238
 Letters to Bp Alexander, 257-9
 Death, 238, 261
 MANCHESTERIANS, The, 257, 259
 Mansfield, John
 Criticises the Manchesterians, 281
 Takes charge of the "remnant" in
 London, 282
 Martyn, Thomas, 314
 Mawman, Timothy (Bishop), 109
 Received into communion, 314
 His plan of conciliation in the North,
 109
 Reported author of the scheme of
 Re-Union, 122
 Consents to accept episcopate, 206
 Consecration, 209
 Forsakes Bp Smith in Scottish
 dispute, 247
 Death, 251
 Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 120
 R. Rawlinson, 196
 R. Gordon, 222
 Methodists, opinions of various Non-
 Jurors, 214-16
 Miller (Bishop), 80
 Montgomery, Robert, 51, 314

NELSON, ROBERT
Letters to:
 John Johnson, 5 n.
 Bishop Hickes, 7
 Newcastle, Non-Juror congregation at,
 109, 135, 136
 The "use" of Bp Griffin, 135
 Internal troubles of, 135
 Charge assumed by Bp Smith, 139
 Finally dissolved, 282
 New Communion Office, proposed,
 61
 Completed, 68
 Authorship, 66, 67
 Brief account of, 68-69
 Influence on later Liturgies, 70
 Non-Juror Movement
 Signs of decay in 1710, 2
 Relation to the Church of England,
 3, 4, 38
 An actual schism, 6
 Relations with Scottish Non-Jurors,
 12, 79
 Divided into two communions, 57
 Congregations in Ireland, 105,
 106
 Divided into three communions,
 152
 Question of "Landlord's" consent,
 221
 Latest proposals for Re-Union, 254,
 261
 Attitude to Erastianism, 63, 269,
 325-7
 Attitude to "enthusiasm," 216
 Its widespread influence, 3, 295
 Fundamental principles of, 292
 Conception of the Church and
 Sacraments, 293, 324
 — Doctrines of the Eucharist, 318-21
 Doctrines of the Middle State, 322
 Doctrines of Holy Matrimony, 327
 Use of catechising, 327
 Use of ceremonial, 329-32
 — Disturbances in Public Worship,
 333
 Complete list of consecrations,
 349-51
 Importance for contemporary
 history, 307, 308
 Non-Usagers, The
 Charged with practising Usages, 49
 Strength of their position, 107
 Complete victory in 1732, 172, 173
 Norris, H. H., xvii, 299, 300
 ORME, ROBERT, 153, 314
 PAMPHLETS, 52
 Complete list, 63-65, 143, 144

Pamphlets (*contd.*)

Beginning of, 57

W. Scott's *No Necessity*, 72Wagstaffe's *Necessity of an Alteration*, 72

Parkes, John Allan, 282

Peck, Francis (of Orlestone), 26, 34,

40, 46, 56, 315

Sent by Collier to Scotland, 80

Negotiations in Scotland, 81-2

Proposed Scottish Liturgy, 82

Writes Preface for Brett's *Liturgies*, 75

Later career and death, 97

Perceval, A. P., 302

Peter the Great and Non-Jurors, 31, 32

Petition to Non-Juror bishops in 1716, 39

Pierce, John

Ordination, 113

Joins in petition to Bp Rattray (1733), 184

Secedes to Gordon's Communion, 252

Podmore, Thomas

Ordination, 252

Death, 277

— Popery, use of the term, 323

Præmunire, offences against, 165-7

Price, Kenrick (Bishop), 252, 253

Consecration, 252

Consecrates W. Cartwright, 278

Death and last will, 285

— Protestantism, opinions on, 301-2, 323-4

RATTRAY, THOMAS (Bishop)

Account of Scottish Church after the Revolution, 11

Influence in Scotland, 80

Opinion of English Office, 80

Proposals for reconciliation in England, 84

Letter to R. Keith on Doughty's consecration, 99

Consecration, 99, 181

Importuned to consecrate in England, 183

Refuses the proposal, 185

Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, 238, 244

Rawlinson, Richard (Bishop), 37

Ordained, 315

Joins the Non-Usagers, 76

Defends English Liturgy, 77

Consecration, 117

Letters on Re-Union proposals, 134

Officiates in Wagstaffe's chapel, 155

Refuses to negotiate with Campbell, 169

Rawlinson, Richard (*contd.*)

False announcement of death of Laurence, 178

Signs Concordate, 171

Officiates at Gandy's funeral, 191

Ordains N. Brett to priesthood, 211-12

Prints *Apographa Consecrationum*, 339

Suggests application to the "Landlord," 219

Death, 250

Letters to:

Dr Brett, 158, 164, 169, 186, 196, 198, 207, 215

H. Doughty, 134

R. Russell?, 77

Redford, John, 267

Death, 285

Representation of presbyters (1731), 152, 153

Re-Union, scheme of

First proposed, 121 *et seq.*

Brett's first "Instrument," 125

Smith's first "Instrument," 132

Rejection by both sides, 134

Second negotiations begun, 137

Renewed failure, 142

Joint "Instrument" agreed upon (1731), 148

Rejected by the presbyters, 153

Partial inter-communion, 154

Law's peace proposals, 160

Final "Instrument" signed, 170

Varying interpretations, 173, 205

Rose, Alexander (Bp of Edinburgh), 12, 80

His view of the Usages, 81

Letters to Collier, Campbell and Gadderar, 83, 84

Rose, Hugh James, 302

Rising, The, of 1715, 34

Rising, The, of 1745, 251

Royal consent, the, 10, 11

Royal "touch," for King's Evil, 335

Russell, Richard, 36, 315

Rutter, Thomas, 315

Ordination, 37

Serves a congregation in Ireland, 105

SCOTT, W., 40, 315

Scottish Communion Office, 70, 182, 320

Scottish MSS., details, xiv, xxii, 337

Scottish Non-Jurors:

Relations with English Non-Jurors, 12

Concordate of 1724, 95

Concordate of 1731, 181, 182

- Scottish Non-Jurors (*contd.*)
 Proposed assistance from English Non-Juror bishops, 181
 Synod of 1743, 240, 242, 244
 Revolt of Edinburgh presbyters, 245
 Vacancy of the see of Edinburgh, reason for, 241
 Negotiations with Bps Gordon and Price, 255, 257, 259
 Jacobitism abandoned (1788), 261
 Formal announcement to the "remnant" in London, 285
 Negotiations for civil relief, 286
 Seabury, Samuel (Bishop)
 Consecration, 278
 Influence upon entire Anglican Communion, 282
 Sharp, John (Archbishop of York), 16
 Letters to Dr Brett, 20
 Sikes, Thomas (of Guilsborough), 298
 Skinner, John (Bishop)
 Consecration, 278
 Importance of his influence, 278
 Smith, Alexander, Scottish Presbyter, 153
 Smith, George (Bishop)
 Hearne's account, 96
 First meeting with Dr Brett, 96
 Ordination and consecration, 118
 His interpretation of the English Liturgy, 123
 Draws up first "Instrument," 132
 Assumes care of congregation in Newcastle, 140
 Preaches "Two Sermons" in Newcastle, 142
 Authorises his signature to Concordate of 1732, 172
 Publishes *Appendix to the Two Discourses*, 177
 Reply to Waterland in 1736, 213
 Assists in consecration of Mawman, 209
 Assists in consecration of Gordon, 224
 Interferes in Scottish affairs, 241-5
 Death, 249
 Letters to:
 Dr Brett, 124, 127, 140, 146, 158, 164, 167, 194, 195, 206, 211
 Bp Gandy, 173
 Bp Gerard, 248
 Bp Gillan, 118
 Bp Keith, 245
 David Fyffe, 243
 Smith, William, 266, 267
 Snatt, William, 315
 Soames of Catworth, 232 n.
 Southcombe, Lewis, senior, 316
 Southcombe, Lewis, junior, 316
 Spinckes, Nathaniel (Bishop), 88
 Consecration, 14
 Change of standpoint, 14, 31
 His *Church of England Man's Companion*, 15
 Connection with Greek negotiations, 31
 Unyielding attitude to the Usages, 78
 Attitude to suggestions from Scotland, 85
 Refuses Brett's advances in 1726, 111
 Death, 114
 Stevens, William, 282, 297
 TALBOT, JOHN (Bishop)
 Consecration, 88
 Question of identity discussed, 88-90
 Taylor, Ralph (Bishop), 316
 Consecration, 87, 88
 Consecrates Welton and Talbot (solus), 88
 Death, 88, 96
 Tenison, Thomas
 Archbishop of Canterbury, 3, 21
 Letters of rebuke to Dr Brett, 21, 25, 26
 USAGES, the, definition of the term, 47
 Not of equal importance, 48
 Usages controversy, the
 Begins, 47
 Conferences in 1716, 35
 Varying accounts of conferences, 45
 Proposals to prevent a separation, 59
 Conference at Lord Winchilsea's house, 59
 Illogical attitude of the Usagers, 60
 Conference at Thavies Inn (1717), 61
 Injunction of Bps Collier and Brett, 61
 Attempt at Re-Union, 78
 Proposals of the Rev. R. Lowndes, 103
 WAGSTAFFE, THOMAS (the elder), Bishop, 1
 Letter to G. Hickes, 9
 Death, 10
 Wagstaffe, Mrs, declares Dr Brett a schismatic, 57
 Wagstaffe, Thomas (the younger), 40, 316
 Ordination, 37

- Wagstaffe, Thomas (*contd.*)
 Joins the "Ginger Group," 56
 Becomes Registrarius, 98
 Brett's Vicar-General in town, 107
 Disturbed by Re-Union negotiations, 160
 Criticises the Concordate of 1732, 173
 Strong attack on Campbell's "heresy," 178
 Departs to the Court of the Chevalier, 193, 194
 Conducts negotiations with the "Landlord," 219, 220
 Death, 265
 Last will, 266
 Letters to:
 Mrs Blackmore, 67, 203
 Dr Brett, 97, 115, 117, 127, 128, 134, 155, 160, 173, 177, 186, 197, 201
 Robert Gordon, 172, 227
 R. Rawlinson, 220
 Waterland, Daniel
 Review of Doctrine of the Eucharist, 212
 Review criticised by various Non-Jurors, 212, 213
 Watson, George, 296
 Watson, J. J., 299
 Watson, Joshua, xvii, 299
 Welton, Richard (Bishop), 88
 Ordains one Dare to the diaconate, 197
 Wheatly, Charles
 Connection with Laurence's honorary degree, 17
 Opinion of New Communion Office, 70
 Congratulates Dr Brett on his return to the English Office, 199
 Defends Waterland, 212
 Winchilsea, Earl of, 2, 14, 28, 54, 59, 88
 YAPP, ABRAHAM, 109, 316
 Rebuked by Non-Usager bishops, 109
 Consents to consecration, 109
 Relinquishes charge at Newcastle, 119
 Letter to Dr Brett, 110

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